

University of Warwick institutional repository: <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap>

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/4312>

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it. Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

Exploring the social and historical
dimensions of migration in the European
context with special reference to the
Greek case.

Electra V. Petracou

This thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for admission
to the degree of Ph.D. in the
Center for Research in Ethnic Relations.

October 29, 1999

Abstract.

This thesis examines migration as a contemporary social phenomenon. Adopting Marxian dialectics, migration is defined as a form and as a process of social relations. Thus, migration exists as a differentiated but also as an internal part of social totality. This social totality, as a historical result, constitutes the general social framework within which migration is examined.

This study of migration starts from the examination of this particular social organisation of social relations. Migration as an international phenomenon is explored through migration policies and flows, alongside with the relationship between national and international contexts. Moreover, the analysis focuses on a new territorial political organisation, the EU, and its interaction with migration. Furthermore, this study explores the ways that migration is constructed in a specific national context, that of the Greek state. Particularly, the interest is on the ways that migration is included in the social and political process in Greek society.

Finally, the analysis focuses on people's experience as migrants in Greece, which is examined through structural social characteristics and attitudes, in

order to illustrate that migration means a process of being constructed as a
'migrant' depending on both general and specific social contexts.

Migration as a form and process of social relations.

This study proposes that a study of migration should adopt theoretical concepts which can permit the researcher to explore the social reality and in particular migration as a historical product and examine it in a critical way. Following this logic, this study has defined migration as a form and as a process of social relations in order to understand migration through existing social organisation.

Starting from the existing social organisation, as the general framework, and its historical examination, this study focuses on the ways that the fragmented social reality is expressed in the construction of migration. At the same time, due to the fact that migration is an international phenomenon - which means that migration is related to the international division of labour in broader terms - the study of migration imposes the need to transcend the above fragmentation and view social reality in unified terms. Under this perspective, the concept of form is used in order to unite independent and separated aspects as differentiated elements of a social whole.

In these terms, the definition of migration as a form of social relations means that migration is incorporated as a internal part of the social framework and it has a mutual dependence on, and is mediated by the forms of social relations. In other words, migration cannot exist as it is today with-

out the present international structure of social system. Consequently, the state, the market, and nation states are all elements which, irrespectively of the particular causes or circumstances of a certain migration movement, shape migration but they are also shaped by migration. Simultultaneously, migration is seen as a process in order to incorporate the historical dimension in its study. Thus, migration as a process means that migration exists through the reproduction and changing (social becoming) of this general framework in its fragmentation but also in its unity.

In this sense, migration can be seen as a reflection of both structure and struggle since it is linked to the reproduction of the social framework in its functional but also its changing dimensions, in its particularistic and in its collective conditions. So, migration is examined from different points, that is, from the aspect of the reproduction of this social organisation but also from the aspect of the resistance and struggle against it. In this way, this theoretical elaboration of migration avoids the examination of migration merely as a movement of people. Therefore, it avoids getting trapped in viewing migration as an eternal and natural characteristic of human behaviour, or focusing attention on aspects of migration concerning individuals.

Finally, defining migration as a form and a process of social relations, that is, exploring migration through these abstract and general concepts- as they

have emerged from a certain historical and social organisation in its totality- permits research to decode these concepts into a concrete social context, e.g. a national context and explore the specific ways that migration is being constructed in unique terms and re-arranges patterns of a specific society. Therefore, adopting this perspective, migration research can understand and evaluate migration theories, policies, movements and actions without focusing exclusively on descriptive, empirical and one-sided explanations.

Contents

1	Introduction.	1
2	Theories of Migration.	18
2.1	Introduction.	18
2.2	Presentation of a selection of migration theories.	21
2.3	First attempts at developing laws of migration.	23
2.4	Review of migration theories.	26
2.4.1	Theories having the individual as prime unit of analysis.	30
2.4.2	Theories using structures as a prime unit of analysis. .	33
2.4.3	Theories integrating individual and structure.	38
2.4.4	Theories emphasising the crucial rôle of the state in international relations.	51
2.4.5	Theories for refugee movements.	56
2.4.6	Theories adopting a normative perspective.	63

2.4.7	Conclusion.	68
3	Organisation of capitalist social relations.	70
3.1	Introduction.	70
3.2	Methodological point of view.	71
3.3	The inclusion of migration in the social and historical frame- work.	76
3.4	Points related to migration and capitalist social relations. . .	82
3.5	Capitalist society - the particular and individual action. . . .	86
3.6	The nation state and the emergence of a homogeneous social community.	94
3.6.1	The nation state as 'communality'.	96
3.7	Gender and 'race': Forms of social relations in capitalism. . .	101
3.8	The welfare state as an expression of social demand.	106
3.8.1	The crisis of the welfare states.	115
3.9	Migration as a moment of social totality.	119
3.9.1	Capitalism and the national state in the migration process.	119
3.9.2	National states in the specialisation of migration. . . .	123
3.9.3	Migration as in and against capital relations.	127

3.9.4	Historical processes through migration with special reference to Western European countries.	135
3.9.5	Migration as a struggle within the national context. .	137
3.9.6	The segmentation of social relations and struggles. . .	140
3.9.7	A fundamental separation in and through the migra- tion process.	147
3.10	Conclusion.	149
4	The international context of the migration process.	152
4.1	States as independent 'national' sovereign powers and migra- tion in the international context	152
4.1.1	Introduction.	152
4.2	International migration: migration policies and migration flows and their interaction.	156
4.2.1	Migration flows and dominant debates in the national and international context.	156
4.2.2	Migration rules and policies	165
4.2.3	Entry rules	168
4.2.4	Questions about sovereignty of the state in the mi- gration process.	171
4.2.5	Incorporation policies.	176

4.2.6	A focus on the concept ‘international’	182
4.2.7	Migration in Global Capitalist Relations.	190
4.2.8	The concept of division of labour and migration. . . .	192
4.2.9	The national struggle within a global context.	195
4.2.10	From the migration point of view.	199
4.3	Migration policies and flows as different moments of the same process in the international context.	202
4.3.1	An example of migration in national global relations .	205
4.4	Conclusion.	209
5	European Union migration: A regional context.	212
5.1	Introduction.	212
5.2	The migration phenomenon in the European Union member states since the Second World War.	216
5.2.1	The postwar period and migration in European coun- tries.	216
5.2.2	The EC as an immigration region and the early at- tempts to harmonise policies within the EC.	219
5.3	Current developments in the immigration and asylum issues within the EC.	222
5.3.1	Immigration and asylum as problems.	222

Acknowledgements.

First of all I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Z. Layton-Henry for his excellent supervision and guidance. Working with him was a valuable and enjoyable experience.

I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the financial support of the Greek Scholarship Foundation (IKY) during the period 1994-1998.

I would like to thank Professor S. Chtouris and Associate Professor I. Psimmenos who gave me the opportunity to participate in their research program 'Muslims in Europe' 1998-1999. I wish to acknowledge helpful discussions with Prof. Psimmenos on aspects of social research.

Thanks are due to Professors P. E. Lekkas, M. Angelides and J. Rex, for helpful discussions and support. Moreover, M. Baldwin-Edwards for his valuable support.

I am grateful to H. Ashworth for her support and encouragement that made completion of this thesis possible.

Special thanks go to my good friends M. Tsalas and S. Pappouti for their help and support.

I would like to thank all the friends that supported me morally through the working of this thesis, especially Christos.

6.7	Aliens and migrants in Greek territory.	294
6.7.1	Legal migrants.	296
6.7.2	Illegal migrants.	297
6.7.3	Asylum seekers and refugees.	299
6.7.4	Migrants with Greek origin.	300
6.8	Numbers of immigrants and their country of origin.	303
6.9	Conclusions.	306
7	Social relations at the individual level: The process of being constructed as a migrant in Greece.	309
7.1	Introduction.	309
7.2	Methodological points.	311
7.3	Migration research in Greece.	314
7.4	Structure of the presentation of empirical work.	316
7.5	Research hypotheses.	317
7.6	Methodology.	318
7.7	Brief presentation of reasons for migration and for choosing Greece.	321
7.8	People's experience as migrants in processing and forming social relations in national context.	323
7.8.1	Status and conditions of stay in Greece.	323

7.8.2	The legitimization of repressive mechanisms in migration process.	326
7.8.3	Army's and police's logic on migration.	327
7.8.4	Constructing vulnerability and insecurity.	330
7.8.5	The attempt to protect migrants' rights: Voluntary organisations and non-government organisations. . . .	333
7.9	Migrant networks.	339
7.10	Relations at work.	346
7.11	Prevailing elements in daily life.	354
7.12	The negotiation process.	360
7.13	Conclusion.	368
8	Conclusions.	371

For Vassilis, Stavroula, Kalitsa, Liana and Thanos.

Declaration.

Except where otherwise stated, this thesis contains an account of my own independent research undertaken in the Center for Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick, between October 1994 and April 1999 under the supervision of Professor Z. Layton-Henry. Some of the material in Chapters 5 and 6 use some results of my MA thesis which was submitted to the University of Warwick in October 1993.

Acknowledgements.

First of all I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Z. Layton-Henry for his excellent supervision and guidance. Working with him was a valuable and enjoyable experience.

I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the financial support of the Greek Scholarship Foundation (IKY) during the period 1994-1998.

I would like to thank Professor S. Chtouris and Associate Professor I. Psimmenos who gave me the opportunity to participate in their research program 'Muslims in Europe' 1998-1999. I wish to acknowledge helpful discussions with Prof. Psimmenos on aspects of social research.

Thanks are due to Professors P. E. Lekkas, M. Angelides and J. Rex, for helpful discussions and support. Moreover, M. Baldwin-Edwards for his valuable support.

I am grateful to H. Ashworth for her support and encouragement that made completion of this thesis possible.

Special thanks go to my good friends M. Tsalas and S. Pappouti for their help and support.

I would like to thank all the friends that supported me morally through the working of this thesis, especially Christos.

I would like to thank my family and Thanos for their continuous (not only!) moral support. Without them this work would not have been completed.

Last but not least I would like to thank my interviewees who have trusted in my intentions.

Chapter 1

Introduction.

In the contemporary era, migration involves all countries and causes acute tensions and public debates. The impact of migration in daily life in contemporary societies has led scholars either to name the contemporary era as the age of migration¹ or to talk about a global migration crisis². This has caused migration to emerge as a major field in academic research.

Particularly, in the post-war period, millions of people have migrated and countries define themselves according to their experience of migration or their perception of it. So some countries, such as Canada, Australia and

¹Castells S. and Miller M. J. (1993) *'The age of migration: International movements in the modern world.'* London: MacMillan.

²Weiner M. (1995) *'The global migration crisis: Challenge to states and the human rights.'* New York: Harper and Collins.

the US, define themselves as immigration countries, some countries, such as Germany, define themselves as non-immigration countries even though they are major countries of immigration. Some other countries, such as Greece, define themselves as emigration or transit countries, even though they have experienced for more than twenty years, both emigration and immigration as well as migrant settlement. Moreover, some political leaders are fearful of their countries being transformed by immigration and this has led to opposition to immigration and the formation of anti-immigration parties in countries like France and Austria.

Despite the fact that there are differences in each country related to migration, there seems to be some similar attitudes of countries worldwide. Countries welcome migrants selectively. Some migration is seen as beneficial and welcome, usually depending on the migrants origin and their skills. Migrants who are employed in the so-called multinational companies are generally welcome and thus, professionals and highly qualified migrants usually enter and stay in a country without their migration being an issue in public debate or their migration being visible. A similar situation characterises admission of migrants whose origin is considered by the state to be related to that of the immigration country. These migrants may even have special access as patrials.

Additionally, another common perception is, that there is a specialisation between regions as far as migration is concerned. Migration from North to South or from West to East are not seen to be a problematic or controversial, as this would involve the migration of relatively rich and skilled people. While migration from South to North or from East to West is highly contentious and defines present migration movements which consequently engenders states' concern and implementation of policies against these migration movements.

Generally speaking, the concern about migration worldwide seems to be increasing and raising questions about the rôle of the states as legitimate sovereign powers and states' effectiveness in controlling their territories against mass migration and to halt settlement in their countries. The present awareness about intensification of migration movements and the consequent intensiveness of imposition of control policies seem to be based on a series of events and realisations such as the collapse of communist regimes in Central and Eastern European countries, the political instability in certain regions, the demographic and wealth imbalance between countries and regions, the environmental disasters and famine, the globalisation of economy, the technological developments of communication and transportation and the international illegal trade of migrants and asylum-seekers including the

sex industry.

The preceding events and issues are connected with potential migration, especially labour migration, across countries, but there also are other aspects of migration which are related to migrants which have already settled within a national territory. The dimensions of migration, which are relevant to the the establishment of migrants' communities within a national state, are considered to refer to questions and debates which are based on the linkage of membership with nationality. In this context, the status of migrants as foreigners and their access to rights, the conditions for them to acquire citizenship, the design of specific policies for incorporation of migrants in immigration country and migrants' equal participation in society are issues which create debates and conflicts among nationals and migrants, as non-nationals. These debates generally stimulate negative perceptions and actions by nationals against migrants and usually migrants are discriminated against and excluded from society. In other words, debates and tensions are emerging in the existing organisation of national territory which, because of migration, is called to manage the coexistence of two differently defined social and political groups, which are not seen as equal members in a national society.

Thus, under these conditions, migration has been revealed as a crucially

important social phenomenon which refers not only either to migrants experience themselves or to potential migration movements but also to states and their nationals worldwide. It is important, because migration integrates and affects the ways that nationally defined societies are organised, arranging the position of different groups of people within national political boundaries. In addition, its importance lies in the ways that national states have reorganised themselves in order to achieve social cohesion which is seen to be under threat due to the conflicts and tensions which are caused both by institutions' and nationals' practice against migrants, and by migrants' resistance to discrimination and exclusion.

At the same time, as mentioned earlier, research on migration is expanding attempting to explain migration theoretically, and to associate theory with the empirical exploration of migration. Issues in migration research include causes and motivation of migration, the impact of migration in both emigration and immigration countries, states' national and international rôle in migration, legal frameworks for admission, settlement and expulsion of migrants, the rôle of international organisations, the international smuggling of migrants, movements of asylum seekers and refugees and causes for immobility of populations. In addition, empirical research on migration focuses on migrants' position and problems in immigration countries, return migra-

tion, second generation incorporation in immigration countries, nationals' perception and action towards migration and generally the emergence of migrant communities and their participation in the society of immigration countries. Further issues are related to incorporation models which states have adopted in order to integrate migrants, to conditions under which a specific migration movement starts and ends, and finally to moral justification for states to impose strict controls prohibiting migrants' admission and settlement in their territories.

Despite the relationship of migration research with actual migration, there does not seem to exist adequate theoretical concepts through which to understand the multi-dimensionality, complexity and constantly changing character of migration. This thesis attempts to contribute to the general theoretical understanding of migration, revealing its fundamental and crucial dimensions and to develop a theory of migration which can comprehend the specific ways in which migration unfolds in a particular national context.

A theory of migration is seen as essential because social reality which cannot be diverted from theoretical elaborations, is complex, segmented and ideologically constructed and it seems to be impossible to comprehend the migration process without a theoretical framework. Lack of theory does not permit an understanding and reflection on social phenomena and leads to

comprehending migration in a fragmented and partial way. The construction of a theory can offer the appropriate tools for the unification of independent aspects of social reality and simultaneously, for the unification of abstract and real concrete aspects, theory and practice. Through theoretical elaboration social reality can be conceived as a totality, as a historical and social result. Moreover, the construction of a theory can permit the researcher to be conscious of the historical conditions and to check the reflexivity of historical conditions to theory. Moreover, it can allow the researcher to be critical to the ways that social reality is organised and appears, including values in the research in order to transcend ideologies, categorisations and exclusions which are results of the particular organisation of social reality.

At this point, it is helpful to refer to the ways that divisions, fragmentations, perceptions and categories appear in migration research, resulting in one-sided explanations or mere descriptions of migration. Most of the time, these issues are those which cause confusion and enclose the way of thinking in the field.

Owing to the fact that migration is conceived as movement of people from one place to another, or more specifically from one state to another, migration research incorporates divisions such as economic and political motive or causes for migrants' movements, independence of one state from another

in international relations, specialisation of states as nation states and multinational states, specialisation of countries into emigration and immigration, independence of economic, political, social and cultural issues of migration (as far as policies and values of migrants are concerned) and nationals versus migrants. Thus, in migration research all the above divisions and segmentations are either taken for granted or are insufficiently elaborated as products of historical and social practice within which migration is formulated. The result is that migration research reproduces differences, divisions and conflicts since it compresses them without being able to criticise and transcend them in order to manage to construct an adequate migration theory.

Moreover, there is also a tendency in migration research to check the validity and confirm patterns of migration theories resorting exclusively to empirical research. In these terms, this perception of reality appears to be justified as it is, and is seen as the sole criterion of truth and evaluation of a theory. Empirical migration research is seen as the evidence of theoretical assumptions and not as a way to study how both abstract and concrete aspects of migration appear, prevail, and change in both theory and practice.

All the above patterns which are concerned with both the social reality of migration and migration research, and indicate the existing perception of the relationship between reality and theory, positing the following questions

in the exploration of migration:

Is there any possibility of understanding migration in its full scope, as opposed to merely describing it?

How could migration research incorporate values or a normative framework, which can be critical towards existing divisions and fragmentations of social life and at the same time be relevant and pragmatic to the specific historical and social conditions?

As far as the first question is concerned, this research started from the basic summary of the above points and a crucial assumption in order to find an appropriate perspective in migration. In brief, a newcomer to the field quickly realises that the existing migration literature connects migration with a variety of issues such as economic needs, the labour market, class, individuals, states, societies, nationals, women, men, networks, racism, conflicting interests, cultural values, discrimination, prohibitions, permissions, illegality, rights, refugees, in sum with almost all aspects of social life, albeit in a different perspective. Concomitantly, the first intuitive reaction may be that a study should not start from migration itself, but from social totality and its historical organisation in order to be able to explore migration within a particular social context. Simultaneously, an important

assumption can be that the ways that migration exists, are dependent on all aspects of social life and the research should transcend its fragmentation. Thus, a theory of migration should see migration in general and abstract terms and not simply as a movement of people across states, a perspective which can direct research towards numbers, categories, juxtaposition between governmental policies and migrants intentions and incompatibility of coexistence between migrants and nationals. On the contrary, migration theory should be based on theoretical categories which can connect all these fragmentations and unite theory and practice, permitting simultaneously the incorporation of values in migration research not in deterministic terms but as an open question, that is, satisfying the second question and giving an answer to the indirectly posed question which is related to what is the purpose of studying migration in general.

Therefore, a different definition of migration is chosen and is based on broader theoretical categories such as form and process. According to this definition migration is a form of social relations among others and it is formulated by these forms such as state, market, money. It is also a process; that is, as an internal part of a social whole which is characterised by unity of opposites and constant contradictory movements and change. Thus, in the following chapters, this methodology, which is based on Marxian dialectics,

will be presented in detail through the exploration of the general social framework, of which migration will be seen as an internal part both in international and specific national contexts.

The focus of this thesis will be on general elements which constitute migration as a contemporary social phenomenon and the ways that these elements have emerged and are expressed in specific social contexts. A brief and general description of the thesis is given in the following:

In the second chapter, a selection of existing theories of migration is presented and their basic characteristics are critically reviewed. Their main perceptions are also associated with historical and social contexts. This study concentrates on international migration and its main division between economic and political migration, or between labour and asylum and refugee migration.

In terms of economic migration, existing theories of migration can be categorised by the adoption of two main perspectives which understand migration either as individual motive and action, or as enforcement of structural factors. Two additional broad perspectives are explored. The first is related to migration theories whose focal point is on the integration of the two already mentioned theoretical perspectives, while the second applies the framework of structuration theory in migration analysis in an attempt

to overcome the above polarisation between individual and structure. Moreover, other theories which transcend the polarisation between individual and structural, and associate migration with the international rôle of the states and with national security and regional stability are examined, thus completing the presentation of theories of (economic) migration.

The next part focuses on the theoretical elaborations which concentrate mainly on refugee movements, emphasising the lack of a well defined division between economic and political migration. In these theories, the rôle of the state in both national and international contexts is appreciated and examined and a normative framework is introduced. Finally, two other migration theories are presented, which both incorporate the ethical dimension in migration analysis even though they justify the normative framework in opposite perspectives either on universalist or on nationalist values.

The third chapter examines the general social framework of migration which consists of the past and present elements of the organisation of social relations under capitalist social relations and its specific form of state: national state. Firstly, there is a presentation of the methodology which this study adopts in order to understand migration, starting from the general social framework as it is revealed by the historical organisation of social relations. Secondly, the exploration of the establishment of capitalist so-

ciety reveals elements, such as the free and equal individual or economic rationality, which are dominant in existing societies and also in migration as a social phenomenon. Thirdly, the research is concerned with the specific state of capitalism and its national boundaries. Moreover, it examines the establishment of the national state and its main ideology, nationalism and the ways that it attempts to create a homogeneous population within its boundaries. In these terms, migration seems to play a crucial rôle in the historical division between 'homogeneous' and immigration countries and also the present emergence of poly-ethnic or multi-cultural societies. Fourthly, attention is paid to the inclusion of previous historical forms of exploitation, such as 'race' and gender under capitalist organisation of social relations which should be seen as an internal part of the materialistic conditions of life. Most of the existing theoretical explorations of gender and 'race' exclusion see these phenomena as associated with a broader social framework while class is considered to be exclusively perceived on economic grounds. However, the perspective of the present analysis views 'race' and 'sex' as historical exploitative forms of social relations which are included in capitalist organisation of social relations since this organisation and its reproduction does not refer exclusively to economic relations, but rather to broader materialistic relations. In other words, they are differentiated mo-

ments of the contradictory and antagonistic capital relations and as such, they are incorporated in social organisation and thus, are also constantly changing. Finally, the rôle of the state as mediator and negotiator in society is analysed through the emergence and decline of the welfare state. Moreover, the study of the exploration of the demands of social struggles or in general, the positing of the social question is also included in order to understand the interrelation of processes of different forms of social relations and the contradictory movement of existing organisation of social relations.

In the remaining sections, dominant elements of these social processes and forms of social relations are examined in association with migration. The focus is on the ways that the general social framework defines and formulates migration not as a movement of people but as a form of social relations and the unfolding of antagonisms and conflicts which emerge through the migration process.

The fourth chapter investigates the notion of the international context and its main division in multiple national states. The association of the international context with migration, is viewed through the international division of labour, and migration is seen as a dimension of national global tension which characterises the existing organisation of social relations. Other parts of this chapter deal with national migration policies and flows in the contem-

porary era, the ways that they are mainly perceived and explained, and, how research can show these two concrete dimensions of migration as different aspects of the same process in the international or inter-state system.

The fifth chapter examines the contemporary emergence of an intermediate context, the regional one and its organisation under the construction of the European Union (EU). The process of reconstructing social relations and of establishment of a public sphere through the coexistence of national and regional political organisations is associated with migration. The examination of migration includes migration states' experiences after the Second World War and their early and recent attempts to harmonise their migration policies within the EU. Moreover, the focus is on the ways that the construction of a European entity and its political membership includes migration as a dominant and reference issue.

In the sixth chapter, migration is explored in a specific national context, the Greek nation state. It shows the ways that general elements of migration are constructed in relation with existing social structural characteristics. The focus is on the way that Greek society is organised which is seen as a framework in which migration proceeds. A historical examination of migration phenomenon in Greece is performed and the migration laws and policies are examined. This chapter finally, completes the examination of

the migration phenomenon in Greece with the presentation of contemporary categories of aliens and migrants as they emerge by the Greek immigration policies and some basic characteristics concerning numbers and origin of immigrant groups in Greece.

The seventh chapter is based on empirical research of migrants' experiences in Greek society. Comments of migrants are associated with the basic structural characteristics of Greek society. This is achieved through the presentation of migrants' opinions and through the perceptions and practice under which some state agencies and organisations function towards migration. This is to help to understand migration as an experience of 'becoming', that is how people are becoming migrants by living in a society which classifies and stereotypes incomers in particular ways which are related to elements of the general historical and social framework, but also has incorporated and organised these elements in a specific way. This chapter ends with comments on a recent adoption of a migrants' legalisation program in Greece, which is examined as a starting point for a negotiation process for the coexistence of migrants and nationals in Greek society, through the mediation of the state.

The final chapter focuses on the ways that prerequisites emerged in this analysis of migration in order to overcome deficiencies of existing migration

theories and to construct a theory of migration. Moreover, it summarises the conclusions of this thesis emphasising the importance of the social relations approach to the general analysis of the migration process.

Chapter 2

Theories of Migration.

2.1 Introduction.

Although migration is as ancient as human society, migration is not a static phenomenon but rather it develops different patterns depending on specific historical social conditions, that is, it is constructed according to the ways that a social framework is organised in time and space. Therefore, in order to understand migration in the contemporary era, this study starts from the ways that migration is perceived and explained by existing theories of migration.

Migration theories constitute the ways that concrete aspects of migration are elaborated and are accounted for, in the understanding of migration

as a social phenomenon. The theoretical elaborations of migration can reveal aspects of migration which are not obvious in migration as a concrete phenomenon, they can reveal potential and actual connections and contradictions between elements of the social reality in which migration develops.

Moreover, theories assist new studies of migration to follow the historical and social processes of migration, and to explore the connections between historical social contexts with the construction of migration theories, in order to acquire a more complete picture of migration. Finally, the study of migration theories also offers the opportunity for researchers to find out not only which elements of migration are dominant in theoretical discourse but also to explore the normative framework in which theories are located.

A common and general definition has been that migration is the movement and the settlement of people from one place to another. After the 19th century, the emergence of modern state with confined borders turned population into an important concept made it a fundamental issue for political interest and introduced migration alongside with fertility and mortality as one of the main subjects of the newly developed science of demography. As a result, the first attempts to construct a migration theory, or better not only to find out the rules and laws under which migration occurs but also changes in time, were in demographic terms and were influenced by the empirical ob-

servations of that time. Simultaneously, the emergence and establishment of the modern state and its national borders meant that movements of people were studied in relation to the state, that is migration within national states was defined as 'internal migration' and movements of people across states were defined as international migration. Specific importance was attached in migration studies to the so called immigration or settler countries such as the USA, Canada and Australia.

Migration as a social phenomenon changes in space and time, and theoretical elaborations seem to be influenced by the historical and social context that migration takes place in. In this sense, due to the fact that the Second World War triggered 'huge' migration labour movements within Europe and also to Europe to assist rebuilding of Western Europe after the War, scholars' interest in migration expanded considerably, turning their attention from just the traditional immigration states to the European states and to almost all states either as immigration or emigration ones.

Eventually, the unfolding migration process has gained considerable attention and now its study involves a variety of disciplines, ranging from the social sciences to science, arts and philosophy. Recent developments reveal that not migration is a multi-dimensional and multi-faceted complex phenomenon and also that the movements of people have intensified and have

become a 'permanent' feature of social reality.

2.2 Presentation of a selection of migration theories.

This chapter will review some migration theories which come from various disciplines in the social sciences. The logic of this particular selection of migration theories to be reviewed, is that these theories have shaped the main debates, definitions and directions which characterised the way that migration is conceived in theoretical terms. Moreover, the following theories are considered to be adequate in order to trace crucial aspects as well as limitations in the theoretical migration research.

The main criterion, on which this review is based, is that these theories can reveal the historical dimension of research in its relationship with actual migration movements and the construction of migration theory. These theories unfold the predominant ways of thinking, mainly divisions and dichotomies which characterise in general social theory, and in particular migration theory, a fact which permits researchers to select crucial assumptions and propositions in order to adopt a theoretical perspective. Consequently, the present review of migration theories includes apart from theories on

economic migration movements, theories which are concerned with refugee migration, especially those which reveal the rôle of the state in the international migration context. A further criterion for including a particular theory in this introduction, is that it adopts a critical perspective on the division between economic and political migration. Finally, this review of migration theories includes theories which concentrate on ethical issues of migration because this study intends to adopt a perspective on migration which starts from the general social framework and its organisation; including normative issues. Consequently, an appropriate review of migration theories, for this purpose, should explore recent arguments and debates on the way that migration research is value laden

It can be rightly argued that the present selection of migration theories does not pay attention to either return migration theories, or to incorporation models. The main reason for not reviewing these theories in this study, is that the focus is on exploring migration theories which are concerned with general thinking about the reasons for migration and consequently with the way that a migration theory can be formulated. Due to the fact that the present perspective does not view migration through the conventional divisions and dichotomies, but seeks to explain it through the general social organisation, the above dimensions of migration can be seen as secondary

or more precisely as issues which are integrated in the way that the general social framework is formulated and reproduced. From this point of view, these patterns of migration are considered to be more specific issues which can be studied more effectively in the context of its national state policies towards migration, that is in the context that migration is being constructed as a unique social phenomenon and experience. Therefore, a reference to migration incorporation models will be included in Chapter 4 of this thesis, which studies the development of the state migration policies.

2.3 First attempts at developing laws of migration.

Reviewed attempts to construct migration theories were made after the Second World War and were concerned with intra-European and extra-European labour migration. Before exploring these attempts, it is necessary to refer briefly to earlier models that were made to provide typologies of migration, for example those of Ravenstein, Fairchild and Petersen, since they formed the background for later developments in migration theory.

The first published work on migration was undertaken by Ravenstein¹

¹Ravenstein E. G. (1885) and (1889) '*The Laws of Migration.*' *Journal of Royal Statistical Society* quoted in Cherunilam F. (1986) '*Migration.*'

who connected migration with urbanisation and technology. He observed that irrespective of the first production of a flow of migration, each flow of migration always produced a counter-flow; that the intensity of migration flows was related to the distance, and was gender dependent, and finally that the dominant motive for migration was the economic one.

The second study to construct a migration model was elaborated by Fairchild and was published in 1925² He attempted to classify all historical migration movements starting from tribal to individual migrations - distinguishing between invasion, conquest, colonisation and immigration. The difference between various types of migration in his model was based on two criteria: First, from unequal to equal states of civilisation between people in migration and people in 'migration place' and second, on whether the movement and establishment of people in migration is peaceful or warlike one.

A final early attempt to analyse both internal and international migration and to construct a typology for all types of migration was made by

²Fairchild H. P. (1925) *'Immigration: a world movement and its American significance.'* New York: Macmillan. See also Petersen W. (1958) *'General typology of Migration'* American Sociological Review Vol. 23 (3) pp. 256-266 reprinted in Cohen R. (1996) *'Theories of migration.'* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Petersen after the Second World War³. He developed a typology of migration based on his assumption that migration -contrary to fertility and mortality - depended on social conditions ⁴. His typology was based on a push-pull scheme with two modifications which are first a distinction between innovating - persons migrating as a means to achieve new goals - and conservative - persons migrating in response to a change in conditions in order to retain what they have⁵ and second, incorporation of migrants motives together with social causes of migration. He classified migration into primitive, forced, impelled, free and mass migration. The classification criteria were connected with man's relations with nature, state, norms and an established behaviour (relation) and also with whether migrants themselves had or did not have the power to decide to leave or not (migratory force). Then, he constructed classes of migration according to certain relations and migratory forces and classified migration on the conservative and innovating basis.

At some stage, elements such as technology, urbanisation, current and counter-current, free or forced migration which are included in the above theories or typologies of migration have influenced the direction and con-

³Petersen op. cit.

⁴ibid. p. 265.

⁵ibid. p. 258.

struction of migration theories. However, these models or typologies are attempts to classify all types of migration across time and space paying little attention to the process of migration as an ongoing and changing modern social phenomenon. It can be said that mainly they describe developments or stages in migration but they do not analyse migration as a contemporary social phenomenon. Of course, these models do not lack interesting observations such as the rôle of technology, economic factors, social conditions and of ecological factors in migration even though, they do not focus on analysing these issues in depth since they do not put them, in a general or specific context.

2.4 Review of migration theories.

Some general comments on the development of migration theories are that the theoretical developments of migration are affected by the broader theoretical framework of social theory. For example, the theoretical framework - within which migration theories are developed - is based on the sociological dichotomy between structure and agency which can be included in the general social theory's problem of objectivity and subjectivity or structuralism and individualism. Secondly, this broader theoretical context is related with the historical developments of migration. The relationship between theoret-

ical and actual issues constitute the bases which an exploration and understanding of the migration should include. An example of the effect of not only concrete migration developments but also the fragmentation of social reality on the theoretical discourse and construction of migration theories is the incorporation of the rôle of the state in the migration process, after the adoption of 'strict' control policies from the part of the states, especially in Europe. In this sense it can be argued that debates and elaborations of the relations between political, economic, social, cultural, ideological domains penetrate the development of each migration theory. Thus, although some scholars are questioning one-sided aspects and elements of migration, usually two divisions are taken almost for granted - without associating them with the relation to the entrenched domains and the historical social relations - that is, the division between the internal and international migration and, the division between the political and economic migration movements.

Bearing in mind the above issues and before presenting some migration theories, it is necessary to remember that each migration theory is analysing the questions that considers as crucial and each theory's methodology is associated not only with the existing theoretical background but also with general historical migration movements within which theories are developed. In brief, the historical social context since the Second World War has led to

a migration research which incorporates more dimensions of organisation of social relations in migration theories.

In these terms, during the 1960s and the mid 1970s, the prevailing 'type' of migration is labour migration to Western European countries and the theoretical elaborations are influenced by real migratory movements. These theories were based, mainly on an economic explanation of migration either in terms of individuals as rational actors or in terms of the structural requirements of the receiving countries. The focus was exclusively on the migration from 'poor' to 'rich' or from 'developing' to 'developed' countries or generally from 'periphery' to 'core'⁶. During the same period, the theoretical developments were seen, in the terms of bilateral relations, that is, the relations between origin and destination countries.

However, during the 1970s and the 1980s, other aspects of migration started to be incorporated in migration theories. The formulation of migration policies with the goal of stopping labour migration, the rôle of family reunification and the growth of asylum seekers and refugee movements brought about a series of changes in the theoretical perspectives of migration. The previous economic dominance of explanations of migration was put aside and the attention became focused on the rôle of the state. The em-

⁶The adopted terminology varied according to the theoretical perspective.

phasis of previous individualistic explanations of migration has been shifted to concepts such as the 'family', 'household' or 'networks'. Developments such as the 'interference of the state in migration', the establishment of the migrant communities within the boundaries of a state and the developments of social movements have posed questions in theory to explain the modes of migrants' incorporation, the rôle of illegal migrants, the ethical and political justification of state's rôle in migration and the racial, gender and ethnic dimensions of migration.

Moreover, regional developments, such as the collapse of the Eastern and Central European countries regime, the 'globalisation' of the international economy, the technological changes in communication, the intensification of migration and the involvement of all countries in migration as both emigration and immigration countries, pose afresh new problems in the construction of migration theories. These problems include the relationship between empirical and theoretical elaboration, the meaning and application of rights and democratic rule, the nationalist ideas of the state, and the meaning of multicultural society.

In exploring the literature on migration theories, it can be said that two main antithetical perspectives are adopted in order to explain migration. These two perspectives, individual and structural are considered to be two

opposing poles due to the fact that the first are focused on migration as an individual decision and motives and the second exclusively emphasises the rôle of the structures in migration. There is also a third perspective which includes a variety of theories and it is attempting either to combine individuals and structures in explaining migration or transcend the previous dichotomy. In addition, the dominant interest is still the connection of migration with economic causes and consequences of migration.

2.4.1 Theories having the individual as prime unit of analysis.

In these terms, the first group of theories are called 'equilibrium' (or functional or orthodox theories⁷ and have as their unit of analysis the individual and their explanation for the migration movements is based on the grounds of free rational choice. Migration is seen as caused by wage or income differentials between geographical areas. The motivation and decision making to migrate, is seen exclusively from the point of migrant's perceptions and their interests. The presupposition is that the individual is relatively free and well-informed about wage-differentials or generally about the labour

⁷Phizacklea A. (1998) '*Migration and globalisation: a feminist perspective.*' in Koser K. and Lutz H. (eds) (1998) '*New migration in Europe: social constructions and social realities.*' New Hampshire: Macmillan.

market situation between countries and decides to migrate, on the basis of cost-benefit analysis. In these theories migration is seen as a means for individual ends.

Equilibrium theories are based on elements of neoclassical economic, modernisation theories and microeconomic perspective. In these theories, the perspective and the logic of the push-pull factors are predominant, focusing on the starting, continuing and stopping points of migration, (rural-urban, international migration) while its essential assumption is that remittances and the return of skilled migrants to the source region will stimulate economic growth⁸

According to a general theory developed by Lee⁹, both origin and destination places are characterised by sets of plus and minus factors while between them there are sets of intervening obstacles such as distance, actual physical barriers and immigration laws, and all the above factors are causes for migration. Migration is thus seen as an almost rational individual decision in the terms of balancing costs and benefits.

In a more precise way than Lee's obstacles and sets of plus and minus

⁸Gosh J. and Lindquist B. (1995) '*Conceptualising international labour migration: a structuration perspective.*' IMR Vol. 29 (2) pp. 317-351, in particular p. 320.

⁹Lee E. S. (1966) '*A theory of migration*' Demography Vol. 3 (1) pp. 47-57 reprinted in Cohen R. (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

factors, equilibrium theories especially in the neoclassical context, explain causes for migration on the basis of market disequilibrium between geographical areas. Traditional agricultural areas are characterised by low productivity, a supply of labour and low wages, while modern industrial urban areas represent a high productivity, a demand of labour and high wages. Thus, there is a rational transference of labour from the rural sector to the urban sector ¹⁰ In this perspective, 'Todaro's model'¹¹ is the most developed one, because it takes into account probabilistic factors in explaining the continuing migration in the urban areas, even in the case of high unemployment. He points out that the decision to migrate depends on 'expected' rather than actual urban-rural real wage differentials, and does not assume urban full employment.

Generally, equilibrium theories argue that the equilibrium between wage differences is achieved by the aggregation of individuals' decisions to migrate and focus on geographic differences in wages and unemployment, underlying the importance of push factors in migration decision making. It can be said that these theories describe the ways that actual migration is considered and

¹⁰Lewis, Fei-Rams models in Cherunilam F. op. cit. pp. 10-13, and Massey D. S. (1993) '*Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal*' *Population and Development Review* Vol. 19 (3) p. 431-466, especially p. 433.

¹¹Todaro in Cherunilam F. op. cit. p. 16.

functions. They are influenced by the dominant image of migration and also they influence it. Both their units of analysis, the individual, and the social context in which migration takes place are taken for granted and are seen as natural and stable. The market rationality is identified with individual rationality so, the exclusive definition of individual interest is maximisation of income. Moreover, due to the fact of mobility of people as human capital, and of capital, development in traditional places is seen as 'automatic' and is perceived in a quantitative manner.

A last point is that in the logic of cost-benefit analysis for individuals and markets, other aspects of social life, such as political, ideological, social, cultural, which constitute migration are ignored. Although, it can be argued that Lee's model incorporates these factors, they are concealed in sets of plus and minus factors and intervening obstacles, in which political and legal frameworks are described as distance or actual physical barriers or just immigration laws.

2.4.2 Theories using structures as a prime unit of analysis.

The second group of theories are the so-called structural or historical-structural or conflict theories¹² These theories emphasise structural factors which force

¹²Pryor's classification in integrating international and internal migration theories (chapter 6) in Kritiz M. M., Kelly C.B. and Tomasi S. M. (eds) (1981) ' *Global Trends in*

individuals, mainly as members of the working class, to migrate according to the needs of capital and as a result labour migration intensifies the existing exploitative relations and uneven development among countries. Migration is explained in the terms of social forces and constraints posed on migrants, that is migration is seen as a structural response and a manipulated behaviour.

The historical-structuralist perspective has been founded on different versions of theories such as dependency, world system and articulation or modes of production developed by Amin, Wallerstein and the neo-Marxists (eg Meillassoux). Each theorist relates migration -mainly labour migration- with other broader social phenomena. For example, Piore pays attention to the dual labour market at the global level ¹³, Nikolinakos focuses on dependency between periphery and centre, Castells on uneven development inherent in the capitalist mode of production, and finally, Portes shows that migration is a link between spatially separate modes of production due to the coexistence of modes of production¹⁴.

Piore examines migration focusing exclusively on the pull factors in re-
Migration.' New York: Center of Migration Studies.

¹³Gosh and Lindquist op. cit.

¹⁴Kearny M. (1986) *'From the invisible hand to visible feet: Anthropological Studies of Migration and Development.'* Annual Review of Anthropology Vol 15 pp. 331-361.

ceiving countries . He argues that the global market is segmented into the third world periphery and the core. The former provides cheap labour for the latter in the terms of a permanent demand for labour in the core¹⁵.

Nikolinakos sees migration as a mechanism which permits the perpetuation of the dependency relationship between periphery and centre in the postwar period, since their relationship before the Second World War was characterised by imperialism - and as a stabilising function between emigration and immigration countries, in the terms of international division of labour. He emphasises the class character of migration focusing on the discrimination and exploitation of migration engendered by the international capitalist process of accumulation ¹⁶.

Castells, and, Castles and Kosack's migration analyses are in the same framework. For Castells, immigrant labour is a fundamental and not a conjunctural phenomenon of the current phase of monopoly capitalism which is characterised by uneven development and the increasing gaps between firms, sectors, regions or countries¹⁷. Moreover, Castles and Kosack ¹⁸ argue

¹⁵Gosh and Lindquist (1995) op. cit. p. 222.

¹⁶Nikolinakos M. (1975) '*Notes towards a general theory of migration in late capitalism.*'

Race and Class Vol. XVII (1) pp. 5-17.

¹⁷Castells M. (1975) '*Immigrant workers and class struggles in advanced capitalism: the Western European experience.*' *Politics and Society* 5 (1).

¹⁸Castles S. and Kosack G. (1973) '*Immigrant workers and class structure of Western*

that there are two main sources of labour (colonial and ex-colonial) and migration is caused by the penetration of capitalism in agricultural sectors in countries on the periphery while the state interferes in order to stop and control the previous spontaneous migration ¹⁹. Generally, they view migration as a permanent necessity for advanced capitalist countries.

Although structuralist theories include interesting elements of migration, they also have inconsistencies in a sense similar to those of individualistic ones, since they view capitalism as merely an economic system which develops according to some objective laws and they perceive migrants as functional elements, or mere economic units, whose actions and practice are responses to the requirements of capital such as the need for a reserve army or to split indigenous labour movement. Moreover, economic structures are predominant and determinant while political or other social forces have a secondary and reactionary rôle, particularly the state is an 'instrument by which the interests of the dominant classes as a whole are realised'²⁰. In these terms, it can be said that structuralists are unable to avoid empiricism and reductionism since they pay attention and priority to the economic

Europe.' London: Oxford University Press.

¹⁹Satzewich V. (1995) *'Racism and the incorporation of foreign labour.'* London: Routledge.

²⁰Castells (1975) op. cit. p. 376.

element and so, they just describe the social reality without managing to be critical on it.

In addition they deal with social struggles, as a reaction to the objective laws of capitalist development and this has as consequence that the structuralist migration theories exclude the notion of subjectivity of historical praxis from their theoretical elaborations.

Both preceding theories deprive migration of its social and historical context since they see it as a functional, one-sided and a historical complete phenomenon, in the terms either of an individual's free-decision or of structural constraints of social praxis. In this sense, the inability to understand migration as an ongoing process and an integrated aspect of a social framework and their inability to transcend the fragmentation of analysis of migration led to great difficulties in the migration research to understand certain dimensions of migration. Consequently, the voluntarism/individualism is unable to address constraints in action and the determinism/structuralism is unable to identify different possibilities for action. Later research on migration, in order to avoid the above dichotomy and fragmentation in the explanation of migration, attempted to integrate both approaches in a migration theory. In order to connect the two opposite approaches, researchers introduce additional units such as the 'household', 'social systems' and 'so-

cial networks’.

2.4.3 Theories integrating individual and structure.

The third perspective of migration which attempts to combine both individual and structural approaches in the explanation of migration, includes a variety of theories. In this logic, Wood argues that the unit of analysis should shift to ‘household’, because a migration decision may not be made merely by an individual but made by a group of individuals. This approach is similar to that adopted in the world-system approach, in which groups adopt strategies in order to overcome the limitations imposed by their socio-economic and physical environment. He argues that household behaviour is based on a series of

‘sustenance dynamic strategies including geographical mobility by which household actively strives to achieve a fit between its consumption necessities, the labour power at its disposal and the alternatives for generating monetary and non-monetary income’²¹.

²¹Wood C. H. (1982) *‘Equilibrium and historical-structural perspectives on migration.’*

IMR Vol. 16 (2) pp. 298-319. especially p. 312 ff.

The 'household' must adopt dynamic, flexible and innovative strategies in order to respond to the structural factors. Both seasonal or permanent migration are seen as such strategies, permitting the household to achieve its goal which is attaining a desired level of consumption and investment.

Moreover, in the process of integrating individual and structural migration perspectives and of explaining the continuation of migration, some researchers apply the notion of networks in migration theories. In these terms, Kearney introduces the concept of the 'Articulatory Migrant Network' (AMN) in order to capture the complex processes of micro differentiation that occur in 'traditional' communities (characterised by the non capitalist mode of production) as they become articulated with the developed world'²² (characterised by the capitalist mode of production). Kearney's theory links household and migrant networks in anthropological research as efficient units of analysis of migration in connection with economic development. Owing to the fact that return migration has a negative or neutral influence on modernisation of underdevelopment countries, he identified 'household' as the appropriate unit of analysis for migration, since it reveals the rôle of women in production and marketing activities in the households that derive income for migrants ²³. Moreover, the concept of the AMN can

²²Kearney (1986) op. cit.

²³Kearney op. cit. p. 348.

address the movements of migrants into various 'spaces' 'not only geographic but also economic and social niches and also the flow of surplus and goods within the migrant community'²⁴.

Another theory is developed by Portes and Kelly²⁵ who adopt the 'social network' perspective in order to explain the stability of migrant flows after the original causes have disappeared. Social networks are links between the domestic unit, and the global economic system, which includes household and extending to the family and community levels. Social networks construct and are also constructed by collective relationships across time and space. They argue that migration flows do not respond automatically to economic or political changes, due to the mediation of social networks which become key structures and stabilise migration flows²⁶.

Massey and his collaborators²⁷ in their exploration of migration within the context of network theory, argue that migration can be seen as 'a self-sustaining diffusion process' in which migration networks are 'sets of inter-personal ties between migrants, former migrants and non migrants in origin

²⁴Kearney (1986) op. cit. p. 353.

²⁵Portes A. and Kelly M. P. F. (1989) *'Images of movement in a changing world: a review of current theories of international migration'* International Review of Comparative Public Policy Vol. 1 pp. 15-33.

²⁶Portes and Kelly op. cit. p. 21.

²⁷Massey (1993) op. cit. pp. 448-449.

and destination areas' and these networks regulate migration behaviour. Migration networks, when expanding, assist to reduce the risks and costs of migration and

'once the number of network connections in country of origin reaches a critical level migration becomes self-perpetuating because migration itself creates the social structure to sustain it'²⁸.

At this stage, it is useful to present the main hypothesis of network and institutional theories because their theoretical propositions are relevant to the Greek national context. As such, there is scope for application of these theories in the study of the establishment of migrant groups and migrant organisations in the Greek society²⁹. The main proposition of network theories is that migration is continued almost constantly, even though not with the same volume, after the constitution of migration networks among coethnics and consequently migration becomes 'a self perpetuating social structure', independent from social and economic causes from which the migration movement started³⁰. This happened because the development of migration networks reduces costs and risks for new migrant movements and

²⁸Massey, quoted by Gosh and Linquist (1995) op. cit. p. 329.

²⁹The brief presentation of these assumptions follows Massey and his collaborators op. cit.

³⁰ibid p. 449-450

eventually migration spreads to all socioeconomic segments of the sending society. Due to well developed networks, governments have great difficulty in controlling migration while migration continues irrespectively of the kind of migration policies that governments apply³¹.

Another theory which refers to the causes for the continuation of migrant flows is the so-called institutional theory. Its initial assumption is that there is not a correspondence between the numbers of people who seek entry into rich countries and the number of visas that these countries issue. Due to this fact, an underground market for migration is developed exploiting migrants and leads humanitarian organisations to be set up in order to protect migrants and their rights. A similar argument to those of network theories is developed by proponents of institutional theory who assume that international migration movements continue and liberate themselves from the initial causes of migration while governments are unable to curb further migration due to the pressures which both underground market and humanitarian groups put on the governments.

In the framework of the relationship between development and migration, Shrestha's argument is that

³¹However, they also point out that certain migration policies such as family reunification allowances and promotion of cross border employment can strengthen the formation of networks.

‘migration is a manipulated behaviour in which nation state policies play a significant rôle due to states’ attempts to mould human behaviour to achieve certain political and economic goals.’³²

However, he points out that migration or non-migration is an expression of individuals’ decisions and migration behaviour based on individuals’ needs and aspirations can be either in compliance or in conflict with the goals of national policies³³.

In the theoretical attempt to construct a migration theory which can explain migration as a changing social phenomenon, some researchers integrate the concept of ‘system’ which is introduced by Mabogunje³⁴ in his study of rural to urban migration. He emphasises that

‘migration, in the systems approach, is seen as circular, inter-dependent, progressively complex and self-modifying system in which the effect of changes in one part can be traced through the whole of the system’³⁵.

³²Shrestha N. R. (1987) *‘Institutional policies and migration behaviour: a selective review.’* World Development Vol. 15 (3) pp. 329-345, especially p. 331 and p. 339.

³³ibid. p. 339.

³⁴Mabogunje A. L. (1970) *‘Systems approach to a theory of rural-urban migration.’* Geographical Analysis Vol. VII (1) pp. 1-18 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996)

‘Theories of migration.’ Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

³⁵ibid. p. 16.

Fawcett associates 'migration systems' with the notion of social networks in order to stress linkages between people (i.e. personal or family networks) and the economic and political linkages among sending and receiving countries and the relation between personal and non personal linkages³⁶.

Under the same perspective, Kritiz and Zlotnik argue³⁷ that the systems approach includes a group of countries linked by migration flows which can capture structural conditions in these countries and also economic and social ties between them. Moreover, with the incorporation of networks in the systems approach, it is possible for a migration theory to explain who is likely to become a migrant and who actually migrates, that is, to connect structures with potential migration.

In fact, the attempts to integrate the individual and structural migration theories seem to be based on the assumption that these two elements of migration, that is, individuals and structures exist as independent but they acquire a cause-effect relationship in the case of migration. On these grounds, the above segmentation in migration research is taken for granted

³⁶Fawcett J. T. (1989) '*Networks linkages and migration system.*' IMR Vol. 23 pp. 671-680.

³⁷Kritiz M. M. and Zlotnik H. (1992) '*Global interactions: Migration systems, processes and policies.*' in Kritiz M. M. , Lim L. L. and Zlotnik H. (eds) (1992) '*International Migration Systems. A global approach.*' pp. 1-16 Oxford: Clarendon Press Oxford.

and these theories search for an intermediate unit of analysis in order to connect these independent but related units of analysis in migration, and consequently to explain previous inconsistencies of theories related to stability of migration flows but not in the terms of labour migration. Thus, the household and networks have been the concepts which replace the individual or migrant workers as units of analysis.

Taking for granted the division of states and their economies in the international system into underdeveloped and developed countries, and the separation between traditional communities and modern societies, they develop and situate 'household and networks' in the traditional countries. Thus, these theories attribute in emigration countries, eternal reciprocal and communal support among people, which continue and characterise people's attitudes even after establishment in the immigration countries. In addition, household strategies and household's unclear definition, are seen in terms of economic interest and migration is seen in economic terms as one of a series of strategies to improve household's consumption and investment. In other words, in terms of household's economic ends migration is seen as a spatial movement, namely, a strategy in order for household to use labour at its disposal.

Assuming common interests, mutual obligations and support, migration social network theories ignore the fact that these networks are results of the conditions that migrants experience in immigration countries, and do not express a transference of communal feelings and kinship feelings from traditional to modern society, that is an inherent tendency of migrants to keep close ties with their country of origin. It can be argued that these networks are establishments and ways in order for migrants to negotiate their position in a new society. Moreover, it is an a-historical argument to claim that migration continues due to the number of migration networks, that is to argue that migration has established itself as an independent structure from the general social framework.

Moreover, theories which are based on household and on the articulation perspective stress the specific rôle of women in household and in the informal sector, but in a sense, they argue that this specific gender rôle (to participate in the informal sector and the economic contribution of women in the reproduction of workers) is a result of household functions in non-capitalist mode of production ignoring that also women play an equivalent rôle in family and in the capitalist mode of production (eg with part-time seasonal jobs). Finally, in these theories, migration also seems to be an economic phenomenon in which household generally functions in a traditional

way, but as economic unit adopts the capitalist economic logic. As Bach and Schraml³⁸ in their study of migration emphasise, migration decision making is organised by a set of dynamic as well as pre-established social relations and argue that

‘the market is both an organiser of labour and is itself organised by other social relationships and therefore, migrants do not simply jump from one form of social relationship into another, but are continually being organised even as they become fully incorporated into the market.’

A recent attempt to reconcile competing migration theories and evaluate them on empirical grounds is made by Massey and his collaborators³⁹. The first part of their work focuses on examining assumptions and propositions of the leading but competing migration theories, dividing them into theories which explain origins of migration and theories which provide support for the continuation of international migration movements. Their stated goal is the usage of some propositions from each migration theory because each one can offer useful insights into the understanding of the multi-dimensionality of migration and in analysing various levels of migration. In the second part

³⁸Bach, R. L. and Schraml L. A. (1986) ‘*Migration crisis and theoretical conflict.*’ IMR Vol. 16 (2) pp. 311-341.

³⁹Massey et al (1993) op. cit. and Massey et al (1994).

of their work they review empirical migration studies as the basis for the evaluation of existing theoretical propositions in order to show deficiencies and inconsistencies of migration theories and choose the correct assumptions of theoretical elaborations which are connected with dimensions of migrations.

It can be argued that the above mentioned study is very important because of their attempts to integrate different and competing migration theories on the basis that each migration theory can reveal and examine adequately different aspects and levels of migration; a fact which can be seen as a new and consistent approach. However, there are some limitations in their perspective that can lead to scepticism in the adoption of their approach. First of all, as the authors themselves state, a weak point of their work is that they examine the theoretical and empirical frameworks of migration influenced by the North American case. This would not necessarily be a drawback if they examined the North American case in a critical manner and within the international framework. But, because of the orientation of their research, they were not interested in considering these issues. So, they adopt the established migration logic and they accept only hypotheses of migration theories which are proved to be true through the examination of the existing empirical studies. In this sense, they do not reconsider propo-

sitions and assumptions in both theoretical and empirical terms in order to direct migration research.

A further weakness of their study, is that they review mainly economic models in migration, either from individualistic or structural perspectives without exploring political and social perspectives and particularly the rôle of the state in migration⁴⁰ even though they accept that the 'political decision is going to be crucial in the preceding years⁴¹. Therefore, a dominant tendency of their work is to see migration as a social phenomenon, independent from the broader framework, especially in the cases of continuation of migration movements which cannot be explained in exclusively economic terms.

In order to overcome the polarisation of individual and structural perspectives in migration theory, other researchers introduce Gidden's 'structuration theory' into migration analysis. In this framework, Goss and Lindquist explain international migration as

'the result of knowledgeable individuals undertaking strategic action within institutions - specifically the institution of migration - which operate according to recognisable rules and which

⁴⁰Except for a reference to Zolberg's work and the world systems theory

⁴¹op. cit. 1993 p. 463.

attribute resources accordingly' ⁴².

In this theory, structures are defined as rules and resources which both constraint and enable individuals' action. Then, individuals' actions and practices produce, reproduce and change the social structures. In the case of international labour migration, international migrant institutions have emerged by practices of knowledgeable individuals - potential migrants, return migrants - and the agents of organisations (from migrant associations to multinational corporations) and other institutions (from kinship to the state). Both individuals and agents draw upon sets of rules in order to increase access to resources⁴³.

The great difficulty with this theory is that if migrants as individuals can draw selectively on institutional rules and resources, namely are 'free' to pursue their interests and construct migrants' institutions or structures then, what is the meaning of constraint of institutions to individual action? Consequently, this analysis of migration, can be said that led to a theory in which there is no structure but only individuals' actions, since the knowledgeable individuals, eg migrants draw rules in order to increase their resources within migrant institutions which are defined as 'individual prac-

⁴²Goss and Lindquist (1995) op. cit. p. 344.

⁴³ibid. pp. 344-345.

tices which are deeply sedimented in time and space'⁴⁴. These institutions are impossible to analyse as Goss and Lindquist argue, 'without considering the individuals who represent them and whose daily actions and interactions reproduce institutional practice'⁴⁵. Concomitantly, although some ideas of these migration theories are interesting such as international migration as a process of migrants' negotiation across boundaries⁴⁶ or the unity of practice and structure, finally they are not explored and they lose their meaning since all elements of the theory are reduced to individual action and action between individuals.

2.4.4 Theories emphasising the crucial rôle of the state in international relations.

The diversity of migration flows, the spread of migration globally, and the increasing rôle of the state in migration movements and settlement, have been facts which broaden the perspectives adopted by migration theories and turn researchers' attention from push-pull factors and economic migration towards other dimensions of the migration phenomenon.

Such a migration theory is related to the work of Myron Weiner who

⁴⁴ibid. p. 332.

⁴⁵ibid. p. 334.

⁴⁶ibid. p. 335.

focuses exclusively on state interventions in international migration⁴⁷. He emphasises the state's central rôle of 'sovereignty' which determines exit and entry rules as one of the main concerns on which state policies are based, but at the same time, he argues that this sovereignty has been eroded in the matter of international migration. He mentions that exit and entry rules constitute the access rules which are one of the four 'cluster' variables which shape international migration⁴⁸. In his migration analysis, these access variables are crucial in politics and international relations because firstly, they influence not only individual decisions for migration but also they have significant consequences both for the movement of capital and for the adoption of technology⁴⁹. Secondly, access variables affect international relations due to the 'congruence or incongruence of rules between states which influence

⁴⁷Weiner M. (1985) '*On international migration and international relations.*' *Population and Development Review* Vol. 11 (3) pp. 441-455 reprinted in Cohen R. (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar .

⁴⁸According to Weiner, international migration is shaped by (1) differential variables (wage differentials, differences in employment rates), (2) spatial (distance and transportation costs), (3) affinity variables (religion, language and cultural networks) and (4) access variables (factors related to rules of entry and exit adopted by states in the international relations).

Owing to the specialisation among disciplines Weiner's attention focuses on the access rules.

⁴⁹ibid. p.443

the patterns of international conflict and cooperation'⁵⁰, and thirdly, the rules are often shaped by relations between states. Moreover, access rules are not just legal norms, but also 'the administrative capacity and willingness of state to enforce legal norms; and additionally the expectation states have from one another and their reputations for behaving in a particular manner'⁵¹. Finally, he pays attention to international migrants as political actors in both country of residence and the relationship between their country of residence and their country of origin. In his argument, international migration is unique since⁵²

'it changes the very composition of the state's population and potentially domestic policies; it brings outside in as it were, and it involves sending a piece of one's nation into another society'.

Weiner's theoretical elaboration is important since it includes the international perspective in migration research. However, he does not develop this aspect of migration any further from the level of bilateral or multi-lateral relations between states. Moreover, he claims generally that the sovereignty of states ceases to be independent in new international reality since global trends in transportation, technologies, weapons, economy and international

⁵⁰ibid. p. 447.

⁵¹ibid. p.449.

⁵²ibid. p. 453.

migration have their own distinct developments and in a secondary level, affect the state's sovereignty. In addition, he views the social practice only in the case of migration since migrants are human beings while monetary systems or trade flows or technologies are social structures which are not seen to incorporate any agency but their own 'laws'.

In the context of the theories which emphasise the rôle of the state in international migration, Widgren⁵³ associates international migration with national security and regional stability with the latter to constitute the main policy goal. Firstly, he points out that it is a common realisation for countries, both in the North and in the South, that

'population growth which increases pressure on human environment and global inequality are factors bound to generate migration'⁵⁴.

He argues that the cause of South to North migration flows is the income disparity, while the causes for South to South flows are conflict or starvation or both. Additionally, he points out that the increasing possibility for uncontrolled large-scale migration - due to changes in the East, the population

⁵³Widgren J. (1990) '*International Migration and regional stability*' *International Affairs* Vol. 66 (4) pp. 749-766 reprinted in Cohen R. (1996) '*Theories of migration.*'

Cheltenham: Edward Elgar .

⁵⁴ibid. p. 752.

explosion, the rural-urban migration in Third World countries, the illegal flows and environmental refugees- is going to have devastating effects in internal, regional and international stability. Generally speaking, the context, within which this migration challenge can be confronted, is in international cooperation in a humanitarian manner.

Widgren's analysis of migration is actually influenced by the image of migration in the world today. Economic disparities, anti-migrant feelings of the rich countries, population explosion, ecological refugees, division between South and North are issues which constitute reality and reinforce their evidence by statistics. In these terms, migration is one of a series of 'burning global problems' which in its uncontrolled, large scale manner threatens social cohesion, international solidarity and peace. In other words, the other solutions which he suggests on the general humanitarian and democratic grounds lose their significance since apart from the 'statistical' evidence, it is not possible to see the reasons why all these economic disparities, ecological disasters, anti-migrant feelings - which increase numbers of potential migrants - have emerged.

2.4.5 Theories for refugee movements.

Migration theories can also be divided into those which concentrate on economic migrants and those which are concerned with asylum seekers or refugees, even though migration theorists realise that there is not a clear division between these migration movements. Generally speaking, this division follows the state's and international organisations' perspective and the formulation of different policies towards migrants and asylum seekers. Thus, voluntary migration is viewed as based on economic disparities or inequalities while the impelled or forced migration is considered to be a result of political or in a general sense, cultural (religion, race, ethnicity, nationality) reasons. The theoretical interest specifically on refugee movements increased in the 1970s and one of the first theories is elaborated by Kunz⁵⁵.

Kunz endeavours to classify the flight and settlement patterns of refugee settlers using two 'kinetic types', that is, the 'anticipatory' and 'acute' refugee movements and associate them with vintages, waves of migration⁵⁶.

⁵⁵Kunz E. F. (1973) *'The refugee in flight: kinetic models and forms of displacement.'* IMR Vol. VII (2) pp. 124-146 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) *'Theories of migration.'* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar .

⁵⁶Kunz op. cit. pp. 132-139. An 'anticipatory refugee' is a refugee who arrives door to door to the country of immigration and leaves his/her home country before the deterioration of the military or political situation prevents his/her orderly departure. 'Acute

He distinguishes between different forms of displacement in acute refugee situations and connects them with different demographic characteristics of refugees with intention to

‘create a theory of refugee migration which ... would lead to typologies and models with power to explain causalities and capacity to predict should similar situations occur’.

Actually, he does not examine causes of refugee movements but he just classifies forms of displacements and refugee personal characteristics (sex, age, education).

In the study of refugee movements - as in the case of other migration movements- elements of structuration theory in order for refugee movements to be understood, have been adopted. In these terms, Richmond⁵⁷ examines the reasons of refugee migration adopting a critical view towards established thinking in migration and constructs a model which connects different aspects of the social organisation with refugee migration.

Richmond's work is very important in constructing a migration theory avoiding the strict division between economic and political migration. He rejects conventional definitions of refugees and he adopts the structuration

refugee' movements arise from great political changes or movements of army.

⁵⁷Richmond A. H. (1993) '*Reactive migration: sociological perspective on refugee movements.*' *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 6 (1) p. 11.

perspective in order to reconcile the division between action and structure. He replaces the distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration with proactive and reactive migration arguing that

‘there is a continuum between the rational choice behaviour of proactive migrants seeking to maximise net advantage and the reactive behaviour of those whose degrees of freedom are severely constrained’⁵⁸

Based on the necessity of a ‘multivariate ‘systems model” for migration, he adopts a typology of reactive migration which includes economic, political, social, environmental and bio-psychological variables and connect them with predisposing factors, structural constraints, precipitating events and enabling circumstances. Finally, his analysis is very important because he indicates further crucial points in the construction of migration theory. The first one is the necessity for the adoption of a global perspective in migration research and policies and the second one refers to the imperative for inclusion of universal values in migration. Both are seen as major issues in order for global society to survive⁵⁹. Even though he does not elaborate the above issues in detail and does not show the ways that they can be included

⁵⁸op. cit. p.10

⁵⁹op. cit. p. 22

in migration research his points can be taken into consideration in migration both in theory and practice.

Another theory which focuses on refugees is related to Zolberg's work⁶⁰, which focuses on international migration movements emphasising the rôle of the state and the international political structure in both migration and refugee movements. In his theoretical elaborations, Zolberg emphasises the political and ideological meaning of open and welcome immigration policies towards migration from the 'communist parties' during the Cold War era since emigration from these countries was regarded as a demonstration against these regimes⁶¹. He argues that as far as the crisis of refugees is concerned in the mid-1970s, it stemmed not only from the increase of the numbers but also 'from the expansion of the restrictions on the international community'. In the contemporary world, refugees 'in the developing world arise mostly as a by-product of two major historical processes - the formation of new states and confrontations over the social order in both old

⁶⁰Zolberg A. R. (1981) '*International migration in political perspective.*' in Kritz M. M., Kelly C.B. and Tomasi S. M. (eds) (1981) '*Global Trends in Migration.*' New York: Center of Migration Studies and Zolberg A.R. (1981) '*Escape from violence: conflict and the refugee crisis in the developing world.*' Oxford: Oxford University Press .

⁶¹Zolberg A. R. (1989) '*The next waves: migration theory for a changing world.*' IMR Vol. XXIII (3) pp. 403-430 reprinted in Cohen R. (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar .

and new states”⁶². A very important point about the new refugee communities is that the causes are not only related with domestic conflicts but also of external intervention in these conflicts, that is national societies ‘are institutionalised to a higher degree than ever before’⁶³.

Furthermore, Zolberg and his collaborators⁶⁴ argue that in the translational process of refugee formation, the

‘globe constitutes a comprehensive field of social interaction, conceptualised as a network of interdependent but autonomous political and economic structures’⁶⁵.

The adoption of the translational perspective is very crucial in the study of refugee migration because it disconnects the refugee crisis from the economic development assistance policies. Moreover, it removes attention from the state to international courses of refugee movements while it reveals political and ideological dimensions of the ‘humanitarian’ justification of refugee policy⁶⁶. Another crucial aspect of Zolberg’s argument is the rise of ethical

⁶²ibid. pp. 415-416.

⁶³ibid. p. 416.

⁶⁴Zolberg A. R., Suhrke A. and Aguayo S. (1986) *‘International factors in the formation of refugee movements.’* IMR Vol. XX (2) pp. 151-169 reprinted in Cohen R. (1996)

‘Theories of migration.’ Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

⁶⁵ibid. p. 156.

⁶⁶ibid. pp. 166-167.

issues in international migration and the consequent inconsistencies in the case that this ethical analysis is trapped in the cost benefit schema ⁶⁷

Another related theory is elaborated by Adelman⁶⁸. From the philosophical point of view, Adelman explores the existent refugee policies through the notion of sovereign authority, and he argues that the general problem of asylum-seekers versus refugees must be placed as an issue in the concrete context of particular countries' foreign policy. In this logic, he shifts the problem of the asylum from the temporary versus permanent, or durable solutions to individually initiated solutions versus sanctioned and controlled by the state since the former does not reflect the contrast between refugee-initiated solutions and state and inter-state initiated and sanctioned solutions.

His analysis focuses on absolute and qualified sovereignty as far as the acceptance of new members in a state is concerned and considers self-interest as the basis of qualifying absolute sovereignty. He analyses the absolute and qualified sovereignty of a state in the terms of a social contract and collective self-interests of members of the state. He claims that territorial dominion

⁶⁷Zolberg, A. R. (1989) '*The next waves.*' pp. 424-426

⁶⁸Adelman H. (1988) '*Refuge or asylum: a philosophical perspective.*' *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 1 (1) pp. 7-19, reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar .

does not mean monopoly over protection and dominion over citizens and consequently 'cannot monopolise or dominate the protective function extended towards non-citizens'⁶⁹.

In this context, then other institutions cannot be limited by the state to protect non-members

'unless the state can demonstrate that these non-members pose a threat to the interests of the members or are an economic burden upon the public at large.'⁷⁰

Moreover, he argues that any member in a liberal state does not surrender his/her human rights when he/she becomes member of a state and in these terms, any 'individual and not just members of a state, have the right to claim a place to live within that state since this right has not been both exercised and recognised elsewhere'. However, this does not mean that the state guarantees a productive life or an income; for that reason economic migrants will not have rights to make a refugee claim⁷¹.

In sum, Adelman argues that absolute sovereign control as a justification for restrictions on refugees is not only contrary to self-interest, but also it is philosophically pertinent to the liberal state. Therefore, under this logic,

⁶⁹ibid. p. 15.

⁷⁰ibid. p. 16.

⁷¹ibid. p. 16.

the policies have to be based on a refugee plus asylum-seeker schema and not on refugee versus asylum-seeker one.

2.4.6 Theories adopting a normative perspective.

In the reality of restrictive migration policies and economic, political and social global inequalities, some theorists include the exploration of the normative dimension in the construction of migration theories and its relationship with 'actual' formulation of migration policies. In this context, Carens⁷² examines the formulation of government restrictive immigration policies through three political theories elaborated by Rawls, Nozick and the utilitarians. Carens assumes that in the political theory context, state restrictions on migration and policies towards close borders are not justifiable, since they are not compatible with the fundamental assumptions of these liberal theories about the equal moral worth and value of individuals and the priority of individuals to community.

According to Carens⁷³, Nozick's argument in the terms of neoliberal theory, is based on the right of property as a natural right for individuals independently of consequent material inequalities, so the priority of indi-

⁷²Carens J. H. (1995) '*Aliens and citizens: the case for open borders.*' in Beiner, R. (ed) (1995) '*Theorizing citizenship.*' State University of New York Press pp. 229-253.

⁷³Carens (1995) op. cit. pp. 230-233.

vidual to collective priority in order for individuals to be protected from whatever the majority decides, gives the state no right to restrict migration. In contractarian theory, which is developed by Rawls⁷⁴, the key issue is 'the original position' and people's choices under a 'veil of ignorance', namely people would make decisions irrespective from class, 'race', gender, religion, natural talents, individual goals and values. Two principles are important in this ideal theory, equal 'liberty for all' and 'justice'. These principles constitute the basis for judgements in 'no ideal' theory, that is in practical historical problems. In these terms, Carens develops an analysis of real and conventional arguments on immigration under the guidance of principles of ideal theory. Finally, Carens⁷⁵ explores the restrictions on migration in the context of utilitarian theory whose fundamental principle is to 'maximise utility' (considered to be either happiness/welfare or desires/interest). Despite the fact of disagreements among utilitarians about the definition of utility, and the method of its calculation, Carens argues that in utilitarian theory everyone's preferences should count, including those of aliens.

He concludes that none of these three liberal theories are against open border policies or at least all favour open immigration much more than it is favoured and applied today, on the grounds of the freedom and equality

⁷⁴ibid. pp. 233-241.

⁷⁵Carens (1995) op. cit. pp. 241-243.

of every human being, and he compares his conclusions with the communitarian views developed by M. Walzer⁷⁶ who emphasises the 'particularism of history, culture and membership'. He rejects Walzer's priority towards members of the community on a self-determination principle in the terms of fundamental values of liberal culture and its assumption of the equal moral worth of all individuals and he concludes that an open border policy

'would be an affirmation of the liberal character of the community and of its commitment to principles of justice'⁷⁷.

Another theory which incorporates the ethical dimension, but from the aspect of justification of national boundaries against a naive form of internationalism in migration theory discourse, is presented by Miller⁷⁸. He defines 'nationality not as an equivalent with state borders but as an 'essentially subjective phenomenon', constituted by the shared beliefs of a set of people' and he emphasises that 'there is no part of the definition that the beliefs should in fact be true'⁷⁹. Moreover, he does not accept nationalism as an ideological and political doctrine since he accepts that this association of

⁷⁶ibid p. 266.

⁷⁷ibid. p. 250.

⁷⁸Miller D. (1988) '*The ethical significance of nationality.*' *Ethics* Vol. 98 pp. 647-662
reprinted in Cohen R. (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar .

⁷⁹ibid.657

people just stems from a long history of living together and rejects the nationalist belief that every nation should have its own state. He argues that only in the particularism perspective, and not in the universalist one, that nationality can have an ethical significance, since the latter perspective is not able to give reasons for people's activities and obligations. Then, he argues that 'there are two strategies to defend national identities'. The first one is through the particularist framework which tries to defend the nation as an object of attachment, in cases where this loyalty could conflict with other (especially ethnic) loyalties. The second one is to address the issue in universalist terms and try to show why, on impartialist criteria, it is a good thing for people to have such attachments⁸⁰.

In this process of defence of national identities, or national character in the first strategy (from a particularist perspective) he argues that there is a possibility to harmonise ethnicity and nationality in the case that national allegiances promise to protect ethnicities⁸¹. In the second strategy, (from a universalist perspective) he explores the possibility that agents 'maintain a universalist conception of basic value while regulating their actual behaviour by particularist standard' (such as loyalty to friend and groups)⁸². He ex-

⁸⁰ibid. p. 658.

⁸¹ibid. p. 659.

⁸²ibid. p. 660.

plores this issue focusing on the principle of distribution according to need. He argues that it is unrealistic to refer to distributive justice worldwide because

‘there is not a global community in the sense that it is relevant to justice as distribution according to need, that is, it is necessary to know which people are to have their needs considered and also what is to count as a need’⁸³.

Therefore, he concludes that

‘the universalist point of nationality is that it creates communities with the widest feasible membership and therefore with the greatest scope for redistribution in favour of the needy’⁸⁴.

The preceding review of selective migration theories shows that theoretical elaborations of migration are expanding and including various perspectives influenced by both broader theoretical issues, and contemporary issues. In fact, it cannot be said that there is a theory which can explain the multi-dimensionality and complexity of migration, but each theory reveals important aspects which can lead to a fertile and ongoing discussion of the subject.

⁸³ibid. p. 660-661.

⁸⁴ibid. p. 661.

2.4.7 Conclusion.

The fact that there exist theoretical conflicts and disagreements and consequent different adoptions of perspectives and explanations of migration and, that there is a fragmentation of these theories in various disciplines considering different aspects of migration, imposes a lot of difficulties not only in the exploration of migration theories but also in the construction of a new theoretical understanding of migration. However, this difficulty can be overcome by connecting these theories with specific historical contexts, revealing some general issues that these theories have been based on.

First of all, is the realisation that migration is a changing social phenomenon which does not obey (a-historical) laws. In addition, it is not a simple movement of people, that is, a change of their place of residence which depends on individual interests and motives. Moreover, it is not a social phenomenon which can be analysed in the exclusive terms of immigration and emigration countries but rather it refers to an international context. More importantly, it is not a one-sided phenomenon which can be understood in economic or economic/political terms but it penetrates all the ways that social formations are organised. In these terms, migration can neither be seen as an isolated social phenomenon with its own independent development but it has to be studied as a part of a broader social context.

Nor can migration theories be seen as isolated from their historical context not only from the aspect of dimensions of migration on which scholars focus but also from the aspect of researchers' goals to study migration. In fact, the exploration of migration theories in this chapter can assist in critisizing ideological elements in their theoretical construction concerning migration.

It can be said that existing migration theories give the general directions for a new theoretical construction. In these terms, migration is an ongoing social phenomenon, whose understanding depends on the exploration of the social historical context globally. Migration incorporates social, economic, political, cultural, ideological and ethical dimensions and a theory of migration cannot exhaust its understanding focusing exclusively on states, economics and migrants but it also has to take into account the general social framework. Therefore, migration should be situated in a global context and a theory of migration must study the broader ways that societies are organised in order to explain migration as a contemporary social phenomenon.

Taking into account the deficiencies of the existing theories as well as some aspects of criticisms to them, the next chapter of this study will explore issues, starting from the examination of the historical and social context as the general context within which migration takes place.

Chapter 3

Organisation of capitalist social relations.

3.1 Introduction.

In the previous chapter the exploration of migration theories revealed that migration research should start from a general social framework in order to grasp all aspects of migration as a contemporary social phenomenon. Through this general social framework, it is possible to transcend fragmentations and divisions which prevail in the way of thinking on migration and in social reality. The general elements of migration, which are the results of the historical social context, form the basis for examination of migration

changes and the basis for exploring the specific way in which these elements are expressed in a particular social context.

3.2 Methodological point of view.

In the process of searching for concepts which can mediate between the social concrete¹ and its understanding, the methodology which seems to unite the elements of concrete and abstract parts of social reality, and also allows their exploration as different but mutually dependent moments of social totality, is found in the way that Marx adopted and applied the dialectical method and further elaborations of the Marxian dialectics by Olmann², Psychopedis and other social scientists contributing to the Open Marxism series³.

The imperative for a united element in order to understand a social phenomenon is that the concrete is already given as a whole being formed prior to theory, and the only way to appropriate the concrete is through the 'construction of a totality of *thoughts*'⁴. On these grounds, Marx developed

¹Social concrete is the term used by materialistic dialectics to define social facts or specific historical social situations.

²Ollman B. (1993) '*Dialectical investigations*.'

³Open Marxism Volumes especially Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1991) '*Dialectics and history*.' Open Marxism Vol. 1 London: Pluto Press and Psychopedis K. (1997) '*Politics through concepts*.' (in Greek) Athens: Themelio.

⁴Psychopedis K. (1991) in Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1991)

abstract and essential concepts, which mediate between the historical society and its values, through the 'exposition of categories', and he used some basic and fundamental notions such as process, contradictory internal relations and forms. Through the exposition of categories, he developed a critique which is based on the contradictory integration between the formal side and the content, or material side. 'The formal side refers to the historical (exploitative) form of social reproduction of capitalism and the material side refers to the level of development of the social division of labour and the modes of social cooperation in this society'⁵. As Psychopedis argues, under this perspective the production process and its material aspect cannot be seen exclusively as the economic conditions of production, since it is necessary to incorporate the historical, cultural and natural preconditions of this production process. Thus, Marx's methodology includes not only the functional reproduction of existing relations but also a practical-axiological dimension as a possibility to transcend the formation of relations under capitalism. This is possible since capitalist society unfolds as the sum of separate individual goals (antagonistic forms of social relations) but at the same time, also comprises the social labour that is, the non-antagonistic, cooperative and solidarity relations.

'Dialectics and history.' Open Marxism Vol. 1 London: Pluto Press .

⁵ibid. p. 34.

Under this perspective, social cooperation exists in the capitalist production process and the division of labour (*materiality*), but takes place in an alienative 'form', which means that the social cooperation is cancelled by the capitalist organisation of production process. It is then, the Marxian dialectical theory which can reflect the demand for the transcendence of fragmented and alienated forms on the basis of a materialist conception of justice, as the re-appropriation of the product of the producers⁶. In this way, Marxian analysis enters preconditions in the socio-historical process and stresses the historical form-determination of all preconditions⁷. The preconditions refer to the social reproduction of capitalism but also to other general preconditions connected with the existence of the earth, the physical preconditions of life, and the 'physical' needs of humans. The values, in Marxian analysis, are generated by the contradictory internal relations between the form and the matter. The process of historical forms of social relations is the context in which both functional and axiological - practical elements of construction of social relations emerge. The materialist dialectical analysis perceives 'society' as the totality of the conditions of social reproduction which means that society is reproduced not only according to laws of capitalist production, but also according to the historical actualisa-

⁶ibid. p. 40.

⁷ibid. p. 41.

tion of the above values within a political normative framework.

In Marxian dialectics, the activation and historical actualisation of the materialist/axiological element of preconditions is posed while preconditions are also posed in the existing political framework⁸. Thus, according to Psychopedis⁹, dialectical theory stresses the historical realisation of values, that is, the political framework in which the problems generated from the juxtaposition of values - with respect to the social division of labour- can be mediated in order to control or relativise the antinomic character of social relations. At this level of analysis, the significance of the social praxis which 'participates in an open process of changing the historical preconditions of social life', becomes obvious.

Bearing in mind the significance of the materialist foundations of social relations, the following section is going to focus on dialectical categories which constitute essential notions in dialectical methodology. First, dialectics replace the notions of externality and structure by the categories of process and contradictory internal relations¹⁰. Second, The notion of 'process' refers to a social phenomenon's real history as a part of what it is,

⁸ibid. p. 41.

⁹ibid. pp. 44-46.

¹⁰Burnham P. (1995) in Bonefeld W. and Holloway J. (eds) (1995) '*Global capital, national state and the politics of money*' New York: Macmillan p. 96.

while the notion of 'relation' refers to whatever contributes to its appearance and functioning. Both these notions are constituting aspects of the social phenomenon¹¹.

Marx's abstractions focus on incorporating both change and interaction in the particular forms encountered within capitalism¹². In other words, 'the focus is on how social relations take different *forms* creating a differentiated, contradictory unity'¹³. A particular historical social form includes not only its function and appearance but also its real history and its potential future. Contrary to the dominant view that 'things exist *and* undergo change'¹⁴, history and nature are seen as the same thing¹⁵. A common theoretical view is that the form is understood in terms of 'species', that is, there is something more generic behind the variant social forms. However, in materialist dialectics, form should be understood as a mode of existence: something exists only in and through the form(s) it takes.

Adopting the above methodology in the study of migration, means that

¹¹Ollman (1993) op. cit. p. 12.

¹²ibid. p. 28.

¹³Burnham op. cit. p. 96.

¹⁴Ollman op. cit.

¹⁵Relevant to this issue are the comments made by Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1991) '*Dialectics and history.*' *Open Marxism Vol. 1* London: Pluto Press pp. XV-XVII relating to the form - analysis and historical periodisation.

migration is seen as a form of social relations and as a differentiated process, but in unity with the other social processes. Also, it includes the above contradictions of capitalist social relations and simultaneously poses historical preconditions to transcend the alienated existing forms of social relations. In other words, the processes of state, market, labour, race and gender forms of existing social relations are apparent in and through migration and can emerge depending on the specific context. The practical axiological elements are also included, and can emerge in cases where broader social conditions are in danger. An example of such elements are found in existing political frameworks which guarantee the protection of rights, or the exclusion of groups of people, including migrants, which can endanger social cooperation and cohesion nationally or internationally.

3.3 The inclusion of migration in the social and historical framework.

Viewing migration as a form of social relations and as a process means that migration is an expression or a moment of social totality and its historical dimension. Under this perspective, migration is a result of the existing organisation of social relations but also a precondition of the reproduction

of this particular organisation. Thus, migration exists in the other parts of the social organisation and it changes through them¹⁶.

The above view of migration means that this study does not explore migration on the basis of a 'causes and effects' schema explaining migration on the grounds of a variety of causes - which can be either independent or dependent on each other - which are prior to a migration movement, and then try to find the effects or consequences on the people and the countries which are involved in this migration movement. In fact, the above schema is rejected since it is a description of actual migration movements, rather than an understanding of migration phenomenon, and consequently it cannot comprehend the complexity, multidimensionality and multifacetedness of migration. In addition, it cannot grasp aspects of change and interaction in migration process since it does not view migration and other processes as mutually dependent and as constituents of a social whole. Instead, it only relates to them in a secondary level or as independent, even though they are related social phenomena.

On the contrary, if seen as a social relations process, migration as it exists today or as it happens, also includes the past developments, interactions and changes of social reality. In this respect, it is necessary to examine

¹⁶See Ollman (1993) *op. cit.* p. 134 for the relation between precondition and result.

some elements of the present and past social totality which are shaped and have been shaped by migration. These elements are associated with the emergence and establishment of capitalism and the capitalist state as two 'separate' and 'independent' historical forms of the organisation of social relations. Exploring these two historical processes in connection with migration, this study can avoid arguments which are based on the naturalistic assumptions such as the eternal nature of peoples' behaviour, or migration as a natural attribute of human beings, or migration as an individual's search for better life, owing to the fact that in this context migration is seen as a historical and social product and as integral part of social totality.

Therefore, the historical exploration of capitalist and national and nationalistic construction of social relations constitutes a basis to understanding what migration is today, its definitions, categories, images, experiences and actions; migration developments and interactions can be traced through political, economic and social processes. The organisation of social relations can be seen as 'crystallised' in the migration process and simultaneously, the migration process is 'crystallised' in the ways that social relations are organised. For example, the separation and dependence between political and economic relations in the capitalist era is evident through the process of migration; that is the historical division of political power among national

states¹⁷ simultaneously has become a precondition for the existent form of migration.

Of course, the development of migration also involves other processes, with each process conceived as being included in the others through their common unfolding. In these terms this chapter examines capitalism and the nation state, their historical establishment as differentiated moments of the social totality and as processes which constitute the framework in which migration develops. Moreover, the focus will be on migration itself and on the ways that migration shapes the capitalist nation state.

All these processes are viewed as a single movement but the above transformation from the one perspective to the other is connected with the so-called vantage point which refers to different viewpoints from which a unified and differentiated social totality can be seen. In other words, the complexity and mutual dependence of different processes, as parts of the social totality, permit the adoption of different vantage points¹⁸ in order to grasp crucial aspects, determinants and the change of migration as a form of social relations.

Before exploring the historical organisation of social relations under capitalism some remarks are crucial. First of all, the fact that this study is going

¹⁷National states are not seen as necessity but as a historical result.

¹⁸For example from the viewpoint of capitalist nation state.

to explore historical processes does not mean that there has been a necessity for migration to happen as it does today but rather the focus is on the specific 'determinants' which resulted historically and as such they can be seen as essential features in the present form of migration¹⁹.

In addition, it is necessary to make clear that every social formation does not present the same characteristics as far as the social, political, economic, cultural and ideological relations and practices are concerned. Each contemporary society elaborates in a unique way the internal social relations and integrate the international social context under specific conditions depending on its hierarchies, antitheses, controversies and balances.

Moreover, the notions of capitalism and nation state do not have the same meaning and application for all social formations even though they are seen to be accepted as common features in states and societies worldwide. In these sense, it is obvious to add, that changes, alternatives, adaptations and developments in one or more social formations, do not mean that they are necessary paths to follow from the part of all social formations. However, in recent years, the globalisation of capitalism, the technological developments and the establishment of international or regional organisations have led

¹⁹For general remarks about Marx's historical studies, see Ollman, *op. cit.* pp. 136-140.

theorists to refer to an unprecedented closer interaction between states. Of course, this does not mean that there is an identical influence of globalisation and other developments on each state or that there is an equal degree of power in each state in the international context.

As mentioned earlier, the interrelation of migration with capitalism and the nation state has been crucial in the process of understanding the migration phenomenon and its multiple dimensions, especially its image as a problem and threat predominating in a 'common sense' discourse. In other words, everyday explanations and policies are based on some social images which have also influenced the theoretical understanding of migration as a social phenomenon. However, - even though this is true either as a trend which potentially is included in economic, social, cultural and political categories or as a reality - it does not apply to all societies or to all migrant groups, since societies can accept migrants without paying social or political attention to them, without constructing a 'visible' migrant category²⁰.

²⁰For example this point can refer to managers and professionals.

3.4 Points related to migration and capitalist social relations.

The following analysis focuses on past specific features, such as capitalism and nation state, which as mentioned earlier are seen as preconditions or determinants for the existing organisation of social relations including migration. They are considered as determinants, as important facts which give an explanation of the ways that migration happens today, or are seen as prerequisites for present migration even though, they cannot be seen as the only alternative which existed in the past. As Ollman argues the present form of social phenomenon 'is the necessity of the *fait accompli* into its necessary preconditions'²¹. Therefore according to the viewpoint adopted in this study migration in its present form incorporates as essential element, the capitalist nation state.

Moreover, it is important to stress some theoretical points which clarify the ways that this study refers to concrete social phenomena and the framework in which social reality is explored. This analysis of migration and its connection with capitalism and the construction of bourgeois society does not assume that there is an economic predominance in both the the-

²¹Ollman op. cit. p. 138.

oretical and actual perspectives and that the exploration of all other social phenomena has to be reduced to economic relations or seen as secondary. In fact, this study can avoid a preoccupation with this point, since methodologically the social reality is viewed as a social totality and not in terms of fragmentation and independence. In other words, the adoption of the present perspective means that capitalist society is not viewed as divided into separate and independent levels of social relations but as a historical social result. The establishment of capitalism and its appropriation of labour implies that neither an immediate and a once and for all application of the principles of equality and freedom in bourgeois society nor the abolition of previous kinds of appropriation, lay within capitalist society²². This means that previous social exploitations were integrated into capitalist social relations not as independent or unchanged but they exist in, and through, capitalist forms of social relations. It can be said, that such previous forms of exploitation constitute different forms of social relations, but it cannot be said that their existent forms can be seen as isolated or as autonomous from class relations, but they exist and change as they participate in the process of conflicts and contradictions which develop in and through class

²²See C. Guillaumin for sex and 'race' as systems of social appropriation of labour in Guillaumin C. (1995) *'Racism, sexism, power and ideology.'* London: Routledge and also the introduction by D. Juteau-Lee.

relations²³.

Within these terms, and in interconnection with another social and historical construction, that of the nation state, migration is seen as a form of social relation which integrates different, unequal and exploitative social relations. For that reason, the migration process cannot be seen as a one dimensional social phenomenon but its analysis must focus on its interactions and ties with these social relations as internal constituent parts of the social totality. Otherwise, there is the danger of ignoring the contradictions which result from the construction of bourgeois society between particular and collective social relations, that is contradictions which are essential to the understanding of the social process as an ongoing and everchanging process.

Furthermore, it is also necessary to bear in mind the crucial point that refers to the way of 'positing preconditions of the socio-historical process on which the methodology is based. This is of fundamental importance in order to avoid a deterministic explanation of the production, reproduction and change in capitalist social relations²⁴ In capitalism these preconditions

²³It may also be said that class relations exist in and through 'gender' and 'racial' social relations. Furthermore, it must be clear that this social constructions are not fixed but they also are processes which means that they are containing their past, present and possible future elements.

²⁴Psychopedis op. cit. p. 34.

on the one hand refer to the functional reproduction of capitalist relations which are both economic, (such as 'capital itself, the means of production as capital, and surplus product as surplus value') and the legal - political framework which guarantees the separation of labour from the means of production, protects property and secures the peace necessary to form the continuation of production²⁵. In general terms, the latter refers to the form of state 'which is understood as the 'moment of coercion' without which no class divided society can exist, and which in capitalism it is separated from civil society'²⁶. On the other hand, and in a dialectical relation²⁷ there are other preconditions of social reproduction related to the preservation of life, natural environment, labour, health, and peace which are in danger of destruction due to the particular historical preconditions of social life (the above mentioned functional reproduction). Therefore, these broader social preconditions are historically form-determined and they can be formed and expressed through the historical frameworks of political demands.

Starting from this methodological perspective the remaining sections of

²⁵ibid. pp. 40-41.

²⁶See Burnham op. cit. p. 97.

²⁷According to Psychopedis' argument there is not a juxtaposition between sociality - solidarity and particular - egoistic forms but as 'a juxtaposition mediated through the modes of the real genesis of political norms that is of the historical realisation of values' Psychopedis op. cit. pp. 44-45.

this chapter examine historical processes and ideologies which are the relevant framework within which migration as a 'moment of social totality'²⁸ exists.

3.5 Capitalist society - the particular and individual action.

In order to understand migration as a social phenomenon, in both concrete and abstract terms, it is necessary to see how capitalism and liberal states emerged and were established, as well as the ways in which historical and social constructions, such as the free and equal individual, the 'universal and natural man', 'scarcity' and 'progress', have played crucial rôles in the concrete forms migration has taken²⁹.

Despite the fact that there exists a debate concerning the relationship

²⁸See Holloway's argument about the notion of form, Holloway J. (1995) in Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1995) *'Emancipating Marx.'* Open Marxism Vol. 3 London: Pluto Press. The notion of 'moment' according to Ollman is the temporally isolated part of a process; Olmann (1993) op. cit. p. 32.

²⁹In this perspective, the contradictory and antagonistic social relation of capital and the view of social phenomena as forms assumed by class struggle are not existent; any focus on the inequalities in the liberal perspective is perceived as different performances of free individuals in the market.

between capitalism and individualism, on the grounds of necessity or contingency of economic and discourse ³⁰, it is also a fact that the capitalist bourgeois society embodied the discourse of individualism under certain historical conditions. The dominant feature of organisation of social relations became the 'possessive individual' which was driven by 'interest' and egoism, while the state and law were the self-imposed constraints imposed by individuals upon themselves in the form of a 'contract' in society³¹.

In liberal capitalism, the free individual was seen as primarily responsible for his³² survival even though he was a member of a broader community. This survival could be achieved exclusively by the individual's participation in production in which each individual acted freely and disposed its capacities and properties as he wished. In order for the individual to be able to survive independently and alone, he had to be seen both as a 'rational agent' and in competition with all the other individuals. On these grounds, 'the free, self interest and rational' individual became an ideal, and the competitive interest of individuals became a fundamental social principle which

³⁰Abercombe N. and Hill S. (1986) *'Sovereign individuals of capitalism.'* Allen and Unwin, London p. 171.

³¹Hall S. et al (1978) *'Policing the crisis; mugging, the state, and law and order.'* London: Macmillan, London p. 172. See also Contract theorists Hobbs, Locke, Rousseau.

³²The usage of masculine pronoun is due to the historical definition of individual in the establishment of the liberal society.

organised the economic relations.

Furthermore, the inequalities among individuals were seen as a consequence of different capabilities of individuals which pursue the maximisation of their interest. This image of an individual, who is free to pursue his well being and the maximisation of his self interest, means that the individual has got some rights - guaranteed by the state - to possessions. These rights go beyond using possessions for enjoyment but rather extend to a permanent control over them: they are his property. Moreover, the institution of property also means an 'exclusive individual right, namely a right to exclude others from the use and enjoyment of things' ³³. The particular interests and historical destiny of the emergent bourgeoisie were linked with the protection of property, the rationality market and the 'rational' basis of state power, Leviathan, and were all clearly 'universalised' within it³⁴.

Man's rationality was identified with the social consensus of free individuals -equal before the law. This highly specific image of rationality was made the basis of a theory of 'universal man' while in its counterpart, the political economy, bourgeois man became the paradigm for 'natural man',

³³Macpherson C.B. (1985) *'The rise and fall of economic justice.'* Oxford: Oxford University Press especially pp. 77-78.

³⁴Hall et al (1978) op. cit. p. 172.

for man as such ³⁵.

In terms of the capitalist market, 'each individual must be an owner of something which can be land, capital or their own capacity to labour'³⁶. In this way,

'capitalism commodified capacity for labour and the extension of capitalist development depended upon a free market in labour power and upon absolute property -in short, upon the maximum mobility of capital, land and labour. Full capitalist development depended upon, even as it encouraged, an appropriate ideology of work, saving and individual autonomy' ³⁷.

In the period of early liberal capitalism, the market was considered to be the only possible 'mechanism' for both producing and distributing wealth, and any national, social, or collective wealth, was considered to be the numerical sum of individual rights to wealth. In this context, economic behaviour has been justified on the grounds of economic scarcity of products - as national scarcity, even though, it has resulted, as Tsoukalas argues, from the social definition of individual interests. In the same terms Luhmann

³⁵ibid. p. 173.

³⁶Tsoukalas K. (1991) *'Reflections of culture.'* (in Greek) Athens: Themelio, p. 111.

³⁷Fox-Genovese and Genovese quoted in Abercrombie et al op. cit p. 99.

points out³⁸:

‘because the satisfaction of future needs must be treated as a present problem, owing to the idea of scarcity. Scarcity does not mean the same thing as the rarity or lack of objects nor does it refer to deprivations, distress or danger; it is not a property of nature nor a given natural relation between needs and the possibilities for satisfying them. Rather it is an abstract point of comparison whereby needs can be treated independently of situations... it cannot be the function of the economy to remove scarcity. Instead it creates scarcity as a schema peculiar to it as a system’.

Historically, capitalism has been seen as the most rational way for the productive efficiency through the autonomy of the economic process, for the exclusive responsibility of the market for distribution and for the continued maximisation of economic numbers. The logic of maximisation and the social institution of development, the inequalities and injustice -which are products of the capitalist organisation of production- are not connected with the total volume of production of wealth but only with the distribution of

³⁸Luhmann N. (1982) *‘The differentiation of society.’* New York: Columbia University Press, p. 195.

sharing rewards³⁹. Owing to the achievement of productive efficiency, economic wealth is embodied as a necessary dimension of the social dynamics and as Nisbet⁴⁰. points out 'the notion of 'progress' has a very close affinity with economic growth'.

Contrary to the pre-capitalist societies in which the economic system was submerged in general social relations, in the conditions of the capitalist societies 'the economic system emerged as an independent, self-regulating sphere independent of the political and household spheres'⁴¹. Moreover, a historical separation between political and economic spheres resulted from political revolutions and social struggles against feudal social relations. According to Poulantzas, the separation of state and economy 'must not be understood as a particular effect of essentially autonomous instances composed of elements that remain constant whatever the mode of production, it is rather a peculiar feature of capitalism in so far as it maps out new spaces for the state and the economy by transforming their very elements'⁴².

In terms of the separation of levels or spheres, with each one to have

³⁹Tsoukalas (1991) op. cit. pp. 120-123.

⁴⁰Nisbet R. (1994) '*History of the idea of progress.*' New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, p. 177.

⁴¹Keane J. (ed) (1988) '*Civil society and the state; new European perspectives.*' London: Verso, p. 18.

⁴²Poulantzas N. (1978) '*State, power, socialism.*' London: NLB, p. 18.

its own independent rules and specialised competence⁴³, the political organisation of society becomes 'a calculated device for the protection of the property and for the maintenance of an orderly relation of exchange' ⁴⁴. The 'homo economicus' became the legitimate form for the action of 'man' as 'animal rationalis'. Consequently, 'the schema of means- ends' as an exclusive characteristic of human behaviour meant that the activity of behaviour was reduced to the one dimensional and intentional man who can apply a variety of means in order to achieve just one end. In other words, human behaviour is categorised by the capitalist economic rationality.

In short, this separation of levels had resulted in viewing unequal distribution as a logical effect of the production process, and not as an open social problem, namely beyond any social and political considerations⁴⁵. Therefore, 'the individual rights were seen as inalienable and prepolitical since the will of individuals created the state, the political order' ⁴⁶. The individual is the basic unit, while the state exists to enforce the rights and duties of individuals. In addition to security of property and of contractual agreements

⁴³ Actually there exists a disagreement or a variety of explanations about the relationship between economic and political and theoretical discourse.

⁴⁴ Abercrombie et al (1986) op. cit.

⁴⁵ Tsoukalas (1991) op. cit. p. 156.

⁴⁶ Lively J. and Reeve A. (1996) '*Economic order, moral order and the state: the idea of the civil society.*' Conference paper Warwick.

as responsibilities for state, there is a 'social space' in which the individual is free from constant interference from both the state and the others, namely there is recognition of a private sphere. The limits and conditions of the arbitrary intervention of political power are the protection of individual rights, reflected in the establishment of 'public law', that is the rules and regulations concerned with the competence of institutionalised political power⁴⁷. Therefore, the political organisation in terms of the liberal capitalist state is 'heteronomous', the market 'limits the sphere of politics by limiting the sphere of public authority' (Schumpeter) 'by viewing the organisation of economic activity from the control of political authority' (Friedman)⁴⁸. Finally, the notion of 'general will' expressed by the state as a result of individual interests and the 'prohibition' of the organised political power to intervene in the distribution of material resources created a 'society which was not only the sum of the individuals, but also the sum of mutually indifferent individuals'⁴⁹.

The historical process of capitalist social relations is based on the rational, equal and free individual, who pursues his private interest, and on a

⁴⁷Tsoukalas (1991) op. cit. p. 228.

⁴⁸Cited in Beetham D. (1996) *'Market economy and democratic polity.'* Conference Paper Warwick University.

⁴⁹Tsoukalas (1991)op. cit. p. 244.

specific form of political domination, the national state - a confined territorial sovereign power - which expresses the general interest. In this specific form of state, the individual is transformed into citizen that is, initially, to a member of the political community and as such he quits his private interest.

In order to explore migration through all these processes it is a prerequisite to explore a historical process which emerged simultaneously with capitalism, the nation state, since political membership in a state was identified with nationality.

3.6 The nation state and the emergence of a homogeneous social community.

Before exploring the emergence and the establishment of the nation state, it is useful to refer to the way Marx viewed the form of the state and capitalism. According to Burnham⁵⁰, the class character of the capitalist state is determined by the historical separation of state from civil society.

‘Individuals, in capitalism, seek for their particular interests which for them does not coincide with their common interest, the latter is asserted as an interest ‘alien’ to them and independent of

⁵⁰Burnham quotes Marx in Burnham (1995) op. cit. p. 100.

them... in the form of the state’.

Thus, the reproduction of the antinomic relation of exploitation is not posited directly but through the specific form of the state, whose rôle was studied by Marx through an analysis of the labour legislation for the working day. Moreover, according to Psychopedis, this point⁵¹

‘shows how the public functions of the ‘welfare’ state are formed as a political process in relation to the necessity of preserving labour as the basic precondition of reproduction’.

Following on from the above general remarks for a specific form of the state in capitalism, this study will first focus on the process of political and national membership which takes place in the form of the nation state. Then, the interest will turn to the process of positing various social preconditions of reproduction of social relations in the terms of the welfare state, and its crisis. This crisis of the welfare state is expressed as general social policy problems (neoliberal policies), in concrete terms. The final part will consider

⁵¹Psychopedis (1991) op. cit. According to him this is a point which permits to conceive the general condition of social life and of the axiological practical conditions as political problems when they are threatened by the concrete historical relation. Moreover, it permits to understand class struggle as a constitutive movement of capital relation due to the fact that labour exists within the concept of capital see Bonefeld et al (1995) op. cit. p. 202.

the ways that all of the preceding processes are expressed, in and through the migration process.

3.6.1 The nation state as 'communality'.

In the organisation of liberal capitalist society, the ideological discourse and practice focused on freedom, equality and security, based on a society of self interest individuals. However, some aspects of social belongingness were integrated and expressed by the process of the form of the nation state. This kind of 'communality', which the nation state created is the focus of this section. The historical conditions allowed a transition, from the primary meaning of national state, which was political, that is it equated with the people and the state regardless of homogeneity issues ⁵², to the latter nationalist program which included a construction of nation state based on ethnicity, common language, religion, territory and common historical memories⁵³.

In brief, as Gramsci stated, the type of order that the state imposed and

⁵²Hobsbawm E. J. (1992) *'Nations and nationalism since 1780.'* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁵³As Poulantzas mentioned one of the historical reasons for the creation of the territorial state was the prohibition of the vacuum of property, namely the necessity of a homogeneous property regime cited in Tsoukalas (1991) op. cit. p. 202.

expressed was based on cohesion and this order of cohesion can be achieved with more than one form, such as force and coercion and/or direction and consent⁵⁴. The liberal capitalist ideology, under the liberal slogans of liberty, equality and fraternity introduced by the emergent bourgeois class, gave a great impetus to the active political participation of the masses⁵⁵ so that eventually, democratic political participation was established. The emergence and the establishment of the state managed to maintain the monopoly of violence, in order to attain an internal and external pacification, and consolidated its power through the establishment of a variety of national mechanisms such as army, police, bureaucracy and law. Due to concrete historical configurations of class struggles, the political organisation took the form of the 'nation state'. According to Habermas⁵⁶ the latter 'provided both the infra-structure for national administration and the legal frame for free individual and collective action'.

In this context, the historical form of class struggles created the specific political status of citizenship which according to T. H. Marshall ⁵⁷, in the

⁵⁴Cited in Hall et al (1978) op. cit. pp. 202-203.

⁵⁵Hobsbawm (1992) op. cit. pp. 38-39.

⁵⁶Habermas J. (1994) in Van Steenbergen B. (ed) (1994) *'The condition of citizenship'*

London: Sage, p. 21.

⁵⁷Marshall T. H. and Bottomore T. (1995) *'Citizenship and Social Class.'* (translated in Greek) Athens: Gutenberg, p. 43.

eighteenth and nineteenth century, was connected with individual rights which refer to the individual freedom and with political rights such as the right to participate in the exercise of political power. However, a *sine qua non* of the status of citizen, that is, an active individual in public life, was that 'he was willing to submit his private interests to the general interest of society'⁵⁸. Thus, the state through nationalism creates a 'homogenisation' of a population through a feeling of communality and belongingness⁵⁹ between people who had lost their personal contacts. As Demertzis⁶⁰ points out 'the state constitutes the nation as a 'reality' across time'.

In these terms, the ideology of nationalism shaped a national consciousness and solidarity, based on the preservation and protection of the distinctiveness of a nation. Under the form of the nation state, 'nationalism has been institutionalised and legitimated'; it became the 'official ideology of state' which means that, on the one hand, the nationalist ideology is linked with the state mechanism⁶¹ as a dominant state ideology, and on the other

⁵⁸Van Steenbergen B. (ed) (1994) *'The condition of citizenship.'* London: Sage, p. 2.

⁵⁹Giddens A. (1987) *'Social Theory and Modern Sociology.'* Cambridge: Polity Press, p.178.

⁶⁰Demertzis N. (1994) *'Nationalism as ideology.'* (in Greek) Conference Proceedings Etairia Spoudon Neoellinikou Politismou kai Genikis Paideias, p. 114.

⁶¹See Giddens (1987) op. cit. p. 174, for the rôle of 'surveillance' for the capitalist labour contract in connection with the state monopoly of violence. See also Balibar for

hand, the state itself has become responsible for nationalism's propagation and a crucial field of its reproduction⁶². Under these circumstances, nationalist ideology became one of the cohesive forces offering a collective identity and which 'fostered people's identification with a rôle which demanded a high degree of personal commitment even to the point of self-sacrifice'⁶³. Furthermore, historically the notion of membership in a society, is connected with both citizenship and nationality in terms of a homogeneous nation state, as distinct from the others.

In summary, citizenship, as a form of political membership creates a 'community under law; it makes those who belong, a part of the system of rules which protect them from each other by creating a sort of club barring outsiders'⁶⁴. Simultaneously, nationalism creates a homogeneous and solitary social bond, a common identity within a territory (borders) based on some eternal characteristics which unify them and also differentiate them the rôle of family and school in the production and reproduction of ethnicity in Balibar E. and Wallerstein I. (1991) *'Race, nation and class: ambiguous identities.'* London: Verso, pp. 100-105.

⁶²Lekkas P. E. (1996) *'The nationalist ideology.'* (in Greek) Athens: Katarti, p. 132.

⁶³Habermas (1994) op. cit. p. 23.

⁶⁴Gianni quotes Dahrendof in Gianni M. (1997) *'Multiculturalism and political integration: The need for a differentiated citizenship.'* in Wicker H. R. (ed) (1997) *'Rethinking nationalism and ethnicity.'* Oxford: Berg.

from outsiders, from the 'others'. However, the image of the other, or of the foreigner, in a nationally defined society is an interrelated ongoing process with the perception of society about itself, of the collective/national identity and its transformation in time. However, this is not a complete and permanent achievement but as Lekkas⁶⁵ states

'the nation acquires its own character and identity in a process of constant stereotyping contradistinctions which result from continuous comparisons and heterodeterminations'.

Therefore, it can be argued that the nation state legitimised its power within its borders and at the same time it became a legitimate owner of confined territory, the sovereign power. In this process of unification and homogenisation, as Balibar argues, nationalism as state ideology 'revitalises and subordinates differences among 'citizens' and between social groups'⁶⁶. Nationality, then, through nationalism, has become a natural characteristic which cannot be reversible even in cases where individuals can change their citizenship. In other words, the capitalist state - as an entrenched and independent entity from the economy - through the ideology of nationalism,

⁶⁵Lekkas (1996) op. cit. p.151.

⁶⁶Balibar and Wallerstein (1991) op. cit. pp. 94-96. Balibar's argument which connects the peoplehood and ethnicity with the latter to appear as the most natural in origin through language and race as 'the national character is immanent in the people'.

selected previous historical groups' identifications and created a 'national homogeneity' among its citizens, that is it created a historical continuity of a population in time and space. In this process, certain social groups were excluded and were either forced to leave the territory or others emerged as distinct and different ethnic groups. In addition, the homogeneity and the national character of the population is a constant determination of itself in comparison with the others, with the latter's actual or hypothetical challenge of the essence of the 'national character'.

3.7 Gender and 'race': Forms of social relations in capitalism.

In the process of organisation of capitalist social relations - as mentioned earlier - previous exploitations and oppressions such as 'race' and gender were integrated in capitalism itself and were expressed by the construction of entrenched and rigidified forms of social relations.

Following both Marx's and Guillaumin's argument about social appropriation of labour as 'human creative practice' (work) ⁶⁷ and as 'physical material individuality' ⁶⁸ different historical appropriations of labour power

⁶⁷Holloway (1995) op. cit. p. 171.

⁶⁸Guillaumin (1995) op. cit. p. 5. See Guillaumin's analysis about the form of 'nature'

were manifested in capitalist social relations. For example, the establishment of the bourgeois type family, an economic division between 'productive' and 'non-productive' labour, between waged work and unwaged or 'shadow-work'⁶⁹ emerged simultaneously. According to Illich⁷⁰

'Man and woman both effectively and estranged from subsistence activities, became the motive for the other's exploitation for the profit of the employer and the investments of capital goods'.

In this sense, it cannot be said either that economic relations or class relations are primary and determinantal in society, or that other existing forms of unequal social relations are independent and separate from the economic relations. It is remarkable to note that the former is a historical result of capitalism and its rationalisation, while the latter is also a historical result and precondition of the reproduction of exploitive and oppressed relations, that as a result is based on the fragmentation and the alienation of social and the process of genetic determinism of social behaviour in capitalism 'Bourgeois or industrial society was to replace the ideology of estates and hierarchy by that of an economic system of antagonistic groups, a system of exploitation. This same society, having invented the 'rational' appropriation of things, both material and human objects to be marshalled and described by science and exploited by labour, *ibid* p. 73.

⁶⁹Illich I. (1981) '*Shadow work.*' New Hampshire: Boyers, p. 107.

⁷⁰*ibid.* p. 108.

relations in capitalism.

Often, it is argued that gender and 'race' categorisations are based on power relations which are seen as 'natural' characteristics of pre-modern taxonomies, while the class relations are based on the possession of means of production. However, Guillaumin's analysis is concerned with the broader framework of naturalism in terms of the modern idea of nature⁷¹. Moreover, if the previous categorisations were seen as pre-modern taxonomies which existed in capitalism as such, then it would be accepted that these categorisations were based on the essential eternal characteristics of human beings.

A possible way to overcome the fragmentation of social relations among autonomous or relative autonomous levels- as the usual way political, social, ideological and cultural levels are perceived- is to associate Guillaumin's argument with Holloway's elaboration of Marx's argument about work. Holloway mentions that⁷²

'Work (free conscious activity) is subjectivity - practical subjectivity and work is negativity, since it involves the practical negation of that which exists in capitalism. 'Objectivity' is nothing but objectified subjectivity: there is nothing but subjectivity and

⁷¹ibid. pp. 4-5.

⁷²Holloway (1995) op. cit. p. 172.

its objectification (its transformation into a mode of existence as objective)'.

In other words, people under capitalism exist as objects, are dehumanised, and exist in an alienated society. Simultaneously, people exist against the above 'objective' reality that is they are also subjects, since he argues that fetishism cannot be understood as being complete but as a process in the forming of social relations. A point which means that this process simultaneously includes, not only alienation but also 'resistance', namely a rejection of alienation in daily practice⁷³.

Connecting all the preceding points, it cannot be argued that some people exist in forms of capitalist social relations and others do not⁷⁴. At the same time, it is not permissible to argue that each form has its own logic, and only meets other forms in some cases and under certain circumstances, that is that these forms are related coincidentally with the economic logic

⁷³Holloway points out that society appears not only to be fragmented in many groups with their own distinct interest but also to be made up of rich and poor individuals. Therefore, struggles for social change do not take the form of an attack on exploitation but rather call for greater social justice and more equality (Holloway (1995) op. cit. p. 154 and 175).

⁷⁴Solomos J. (1988) '*Varieties of Marxist conceptions of 'race', class, and the state: a critical analysis.*' in Rex J. and Mason D. (eds) (1988) '*Theories of race and ethnic relations.*' Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

which is exclusively based on class relations. As Solomos argues⁷⁵

‘there is no race relations problems as such, that there is no problem of racism which can be thought of as a separate from the structural features of capitalist society’.

Historically, capitalism segmented the exploitation from coercion and domination as independent and autonomous. It also separated the private from public spheres but that does not mean that the resulting ‘freedom’ due to the appropriation of labour (the negation of human creativity) is not mediated and expressed through all forms of social relations including the state and that consequently it does not exist in and through a sexist, racist and nationalist forms of social relations. In sum, the contradictory and antagonistic capital relations⁷⁶ and the constant questioning of this relation by struggle, penetrates and exists, in and through, all forms of social relations since it can create/produce different kinds of inequalities.

⁷⁵ibid. p. 107.

⁷⁶Class as relation and not as another way of grouping individuals according to some characteristics and attributes such as income. For this definition see Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1992) *‘Theory and practice.’* Open Marxism Vol. 2 London: Pluto Press, Introduction.

3.8 The welfare state as an expression of social demand.

In particular, the capital relation contradiction is expressed by the state which mediates between particular/egoistic interests and the common good or the general interest. The manifestation of this contradiction is the inclusion of the right to property, into a set of inviolable individual rights whose institutionalisation brings to the public domain the market inequality. The continuous demand for substantial and not only formal equality, the contradiction between universality and particularity, come out into the political process since the state is the sovereign political power which expresses the common good and the general will. In other words, it can be argued that the state must secure the reproduction of capital relations, namely both the discipline of labour along with the private property and capitalist profit.

The relations between individuals, and between individuals and the state, are mediated by the notion of citizenship. So, in the political process, the demands of individuals for equality and freedom that take place and are expressed in the public domain while the state itself has the exclusive right to attribute more rights or to remove previous rights from citizens. However, in democratic societies, citizens also have the right to control the state's de-

cision making and check whether this is consistent with the 'general will'⁷⁷.

In order to complete the historical and social framework within which migration as a specific form of social relations exists today, it is important to refer to the emergence and crisis of the 'welfare state' or 'social democratic state' within the national context. This is important not only because this crisis happened at the same time with a great movement of labour migration, but also more importantly, because migrants participate under the status of citizens or as 'mere workers' in a 'foreign' society in which the social problem arose. In addition, it was during the same period that an institutionalised division of migrants was established and consolidated, that is, between labour migrants and asylum seekers or refugees.

After the Second World War, international and national conditions permitted the development of national economies. In this context, the state took an active economic rôle with the aim of achieving a progressive economic development within its territory. Bearing in mind that the preconditions of the market activity in capitalist societies 'are provided by non market power relations and especially by legislation and state activity'⁷⁸, it

⁷⁷It is not necessary for capitalism to develop and connect with democracy; rather it is due to historical reasons that the emergence of capitalism in Europe and America in the 18th and 19th century was connected with the democratic rule.

⁷⁸Barbalet J. (1988) M. '*Citizenship*.' Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p.

is important to note that under the welfare state, the state attempted to re-structure its relations with the market owing to international and domestic conditions, in order to secure the broader reproduction of social relations. Among state interventions was the distribution of resources through the attribution of social rights to citizens; a function which was considered to belong ideologically to individuals' performance in the market. This state intervention brought about a public debate on the consequences of social rights in a class society.

The debate also related to Marshall's work '*Citizenship and Social Class*' in which he explored the antagonism which is caused by citizenship in the capitalist democratic states. However, according to Barbalet, Marshall did not take into account some important points when the latter argued for social citizenship and opposition between social citizenship and class society. These points are also relevant to the way the welfare state developed and evolved into crisis. In brief, social rights cannot form an element of citizenship like civil and political rights, because the former do not even imply universality.

Social rights are means to facilitate citizenship, that is participation in a
73. Barbalet argues that the preconditions are that the markets themselves never determine what type of resource is to be subject to market forces or available outside market exchanges and markets themselves can never provide the institutional infra-structure required for their functioning.

common national community. Social rights are also meaningful when they are substantive⁷⁹. More importantly, the state intervention in distribution did not mean that the market ceases to be the main domain for it, but rather, that both state and market, function together for the distribution of resources⁸⁰. In this sense, Barbalet rightly argues that social rights can be seen as conditional opportunities, since their attribution depends upon an administrative and professional infrastructure, ultimately upon a fiscal basis⁸¹.

Within the welfare state, the logic and the application of concrete state policies and also the ways that social struggles were expressed through demands, are interesting aspects which permit the understanding of the penetration and prevalence of the economic logic into almost every, already fragmented, aspect of social life and the consequent social crisis. The state intervention in the economy and the provision of social services, justified on the grounds of economic growth and achievement of an 'affluent society', the social policies provided by the state were seen as distribution of benefits to individuals on the basis of social justice.

The state acted for the 'general interest' in conditions which were related

⁷⁹Barbalet (1988) op. cit. p. 67.

⁸⁰Macpherson (1985) op. cit. p. 15.

⁸¹Barbalet (1988) op. cit. p. 67.

to the growth of trade unions and labour and social democratic parties, with the decline of market competition and generally with the reproduction of systems. According to Giddens: 'this indeed was taken to be the essence of 'Keynesnism' -that through demand management, with the government playing an active rôle, progressive economic development could be achieved'. He argues that two other elements were taken to be correlated with this process.

'One was the successful institutionalisation of liberal democracy ... The successful involvement of the mass of the population within the democratic order such as that the majority of the working class acquire a range of 'citizenship rights', ... the state became a 'welfare state' providing a wide range of benefits for its citizenry'⁸².

In this context, the capacity of the market to offer a fair distribution or a real equality of opportunity was questioned. According to Poulantzas ⁸³ the demands for equal opportunity and fair competition, focusing on distribution of income, were connected with the emergence of the petit-bourgeoisie and its permanent fear of proletarianisation. The struggles for demanding so-

⁸²Giddens (1987) op. cit. p. 185.

⁸³Poulantzas N. (1975) '*Class in Contemporary Capitalism.*' London: NLB, p. 290.

cial justice after their actual implementation, resulted in particularity and segmentation of the demands without questioning the labour divisions or the structure of political power. These demands ended up losing their broader character of social justice and were simply attached to wage differentials. The state distributive intervention could not exist without the formation of social categories, on the basis of the quantitative and formal criteria, in order to facilitate and justify its neutral intervention. But this led to the formation of social categories which emerged as legitimate organised collective actors and they constituted both the objects of state intervention and subjects of social demand⁸⁴.

Under these circumstances, the result was diversity and competition between demands, and an incoherent argument about the achievement of social justice. As Tsoukalas states, the ambivalence and controversy both of demands and of intervention is apparent in the connection of social justice with, on the one hand, social solidarity and clemency and, on the other hand, equal opportunity to all. These two demands pose a fundamental question towards an antithetical direction: if material survival should or should not be associated with the production. In other words, the first demand refers to the outcomes of competition and the intervention of state

⁸⁴Tsoukalas (1991) op. cit. p. 336.

is asked on the grounds of social solidarity, claiming the relative disconnection of distribution from market competition. On the contrary, the second demand accepts market competition, but asks for the alteration of rules in order for the competition to be more fair⁸⁵. In fact, the state's performance is evaluated not only by the implication of law or the promotion of national and general interests, but also by its achievement to express a system of social relations and, in these terms, the state has to judge, predict and program the future. The task of the state, which is to reconcile conflicting interests, can be associated with the legitimization crisis. Habermas draws attention to the rising demands by the electorate for social welfare benefits, which may rise too high for the state to meet them and thus may lead to a legitimization crisis. In other words, the state cannot effectively reconcile conflicting interests and cannot function on the basis of production of social relations and as consequence it cannot absorb pressures and tensions from the part of the civil society⁸⁶.

Another interesting aspect of the welfare state is that distribution is not automatically determined as in the case of the market, in which there is a consolidated and legitimate right to property. Owing to the fact that there

⁸⁵Rawls J. (1973) '*A Theory of Justice.*' London: Oxford University Press, pp. 84-88 and Tsoukalas (1991) *op. cit.* pp. 343 -347.

⁸⁶Hall et al (1978) *op. cit.* p. 214.

exists a lack of a similar basis, the share in the wealth is formed as a flexible demand, and can be achieved not only against other equivalent demands but also against the demand of total economic maximisation⁸⁷. Bearing in mind also that social resources are limited, based mainly on taxation, the attribution of social rights expresses the political, social and cultural balance of power.

Moreover, according to Tsoukalas, the difference between individual and social rights, is that the former are granted inalienably, while the latter are granted under certain conditions and they are temporary and politically negotiable and renegotiable, which means that they are always likely to be lifted. Within the framework of the welfare state, the recognition of social rights have never established/instituted also the right for work, since according to De Brunhoff's argument this recognition means that labour power would cease to be a commodity, which is a precondition for 'public law'⁸⁸. However, as she also points out, the establishment of the welfare state assisted the reduction of uncertainty of employment, but it did not abolish it. Simultaneously, within the welfare state, the trade unions and political parties associated with them, became more powerful and participated in state decision making, but they lost their influence and control among their

⁸⁷Tsoukalas (1991) op. cit. p. 374 and p. 379.

⁸⁸De Brunhoff S. (1983) *'State and Capital.'* Athens: Themelio, p. 43.

members⁸⁹.

These facts create not only legal but also political problems and controversies for the welfare state, whose existence depends on its ability to reconcile the two antithetical types of rationality -social and economic- and consequently to achieve the coexistence of the two different ways of rights creation ⁹⁰. Therefore, an inevitable juxtaposition among the potential eligible categories is created, namely a direct competition among politically defined categories with economic interests.

In addition, the adoption of social security policies assisted in making unemployment a non-general and temporary phenomenon, but also enabled the unemployed to be able to continue consumption⁹¹. In these terms, the welfare state brought about a crucial change regarding the survival of individuals, which was the disconnection between their survival and their participation in the labour market, since the former could be ensured politically. However, this does not mean that the compulsion of people to sell their labour power ceases to be the dominant way for survival. The wage has still been the sole means for the free will of the wage worker to be subordinate to his/her employer, but the focus has been mainly on grounds of consumption,

⁸⁹J. Holloway (1995) op. cit. pp. 26-27.

⁹⁰Tsoukalas (1991) op. cit. pp. 517-519.

⁹¹ibid p. 44.

namely to 'consume like the others'⁹².

However, under the conditions of a consumer society which brings about the 'commodification of social life', ⁹³ the consumer society has diffused the logic of the market and simultaneously has created a specific cultural and social system of needs which become the basis of reproduction of the ideological mechanisms of society ⁹⁴. In these terms, the non working individual receives a sort of an income, but this does not permit him/her to 'survive', meaning to consume like others, and thus leads him/her to poverty and social degrading.

3.8.1 The crisis of the welfare states.

In the late 1970s the welfare state evolved into crisis due to national and international changes⁹⁵ and a number of problems such as inflation, unem-

⁹²ibid. p. 525.

⁹³Mouffe p. 92.

⁹⁴Sagias I. and Spourdalakis M. (1993) '*Mass consumption.*' (in Greek) in Getimis P. and Gravaris D. N. (eds) (1993) '*Welfare state and social policy.*' Athens: Themelio, p. 415.

⁹⁵These changes have been characterised by some scholars such as C. Offe and S. Lash and J. Urry as 'disorganised' capitalism. In brief, the latter describe this as: 'economic change, most notably in the effects on occupation and structure connected with the accumulation of capital (which) is subsequently the precondition of disorganisation of civil society... (which) is itself the precondition of disorganisation in the state' Offe C. (1985)

ployment and decline of production. So, state intervention into the economy brought about the limits of the achievement of prosperity, and state policies were attacked both as inefficient and as against freedom, that is against a fundamental individual right. The latter was seen as opposite and antithetical to distributive justice.

Under these conditions, the market through the restriction of state intervention has been legitimised as the only efficient way to achieve prosperity and as 'morally superior because it allows more freedom of choice without command'⁹⁶. The attack on social rights (even though they were not completely institutionalised as proper rights) and the recognition of market rationality and morality as exclusive and dominant in society, means that the attack does not refer only to social rights but also to political rights and the state's legitimation to adopt social policies and generally to act as the embodiment of the general interest. In other words, the state within the so-called neoliberal policies is not legitimated to administer social inequalities or to conduct demands for equality. According to Drossos⁹⁷, in neoliberal

'Disorganised capitalism: contemporary transformations of work and politics.' Cambridge: Polity, p. 7. Other scholars called this era 'post fordism'. For details see Amin A. (ed) (1994) *'Post-Fordism: A reader.'* Oxford: Blackwell.

⁹⁶Jordan B. (1989) *'The common good.'* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 25-26

⁹⁷Drossos D. (1998) *'Market, polity and political decision making.'* (in Greek) *Axiologika* 11-12 pp. 326-336 .

policies not only the market is freed from the state intervention but also the state emancipates itself from the demands for equality, from the part of civil society, and consequently it is free to conform to market demands. In sum, it can be argued that state policies after the Second World War, either as welfare policies or as neoliberal policies have been adopted within the logic of economic prosperity⁹⁸.

Under the above circumstances, a crucial point made by Doxiadis⁹⁹ and related to the ways that social struggles themselves can legitimate exclusion policies and intensify particularisations, is reference to the new social movement struggles and their demands. In certain historical social conditions, the economic prosperity (expressed either as freedom or as equality

⁹⁸The difference between these two according to Gravaris is that the former contains the political state praxis in the reproduction of capitalist social relations on the grounds of transference of economic resources in the state budget while the latter is based on the rationality of individual economic praxis with the consequence of the exclusion of social groups from the proper reproduction of society. Therefore, the 'latter rationality not only set limits to state intervention but also it is itself a precondition of rationality for general social praxis'. For more about these issues see Gravaris D. (1993) '*Elements for a social policy theory.*' (in Greek) in Getimis P. and Gravaris D. (eds) (1993) '*Social state and social policy.*' Athens: Themelio, especially pages 35, 61, 69.

⁹⁹Doxiadis K. (1996) '*Utopia and morality*' Greek Political Science Review Vol. 8 pp. 35-76.

and as distributive justice) and the consequent emergence of money as a common benefit, and money has been perceived as a universal benefit in utility terms. The demands of social movements for 'difference', means that social movements have rejected the identification of politics and economics, and indirectly politics, since politics are seen only through this identification. Consequently, social movement demands cannot be seen as universal since the only universal demand can be money and not general materialistic conditions. This point is also related to the contemporary demands for migrant or ethnic communities when they are seen in the entrenched domain of their cultural and ethnic diversity. In other words, if migrant or ethnic communities demand exclusively their difference and their cultural integrity, there is a danger that migrants' demands are seen as particular and not as potential social demands which are of interest to the whole society.

Finally, it can be said that it is precisely the historically fundamental separation and independence of the political of the economic sphere (and the consequent antinomy which is expressed by the inclusion of the right to property within civil individual rights such as freedom and equality) and the particularisation of society which is expressed through the contemporary crisis, which seems to be incapable of unifying particularisations and differences on the common basis of social solidarity and communality. The above

fragmentation has characterised and penetrated all aspects of social life; it is reflected not only in the state's difficulty to legitimise its rôle as a sovereign power which offers the meaning of social bond and expresses the common interest, but also in social struggles whose organisation and demands are considered to be limited in scope and rest on the basis of subjectivity.

3.9 Migration as a moment of social totality.

3.9.1 Capitalism and the national state in the migration process.

In the preceding parts of this chapter the focus was on some fundamental forms of social relations, which constitute the general social framework. The historical organisation of this social framework is characterised by general qualities which formulate the needs, perception and practice of all aspects of social life. Although these aspects seem to be fragmented in social reality through the notion of form it is possible to explore their mutual dependence. Thus, in this section the focus is shifted towards migration as a particular social phenomenon in this general social framework together with the exploration of how these other forms of social relations exist, in and through, migration.

In this perspective, migration is seen as a process, which means that it is becoming (on-going) and is never fixed, and it contains properties of the general organisation of social relations. It can be said that the capitalist nation state is the framework for the development of migration, which means that migration exists, and integrates the basic antinomy of capitalist social relations and its contradictions. Thus, there is an inherent contradiction which is reflected in migration, that is the historical separation between political and economic spheres. This is true in two senses. The first, can be argued that is related to the fundamental contradiction between social production and private profit, that is the capital social relation, which has been expressed by the political form of state, while the second refers to the establishment of sovereign states confined in a certain territory.

These two historical social processes are seen to be antithetical; on the one hand capitalist accumulation is an international/universal system since it cannot restrict itself in a confined territory, that is it does not recognise borders and consequently it encourages migration, and on the other hand, specific capitalist states assume little or no migration, or at least controlled migration. Reflexively, this inherent contradiction not only constructs migration in its process and expresses its capitalist form, but also more importantly it shows that migration is not an independent phenomenon with

its own logic and conditions of change, whose causes and effects are either economic and/or political or cultural. Insofar as migration is a result of a capitalist organisation of social relations, migration is a social phenomenon which simultaneously consists of free and constrained properties, that is the relationship between economic and political separation and dependence. However, it appears to be connected either with economic and/or political issues or cultural and/or ethnic relations and also appears as free or as forced.

The emergence of state and capitalism simultaneously brought about the segmentation of political power into national states in an international or as Burnham calls it 'interstate system'. However, the existence of the international system does not mean that all states have equal power or they develop in an identical way. Rather it means as Burnham¹⁰⁰ argues, that

'national states provide both the domestic political underpinning for the mobility of capital and offer rudimentary institutional schemes aimed at securing international property rights and a basis for the continued expansion of capital'.

Furthermore, the conditions under which capitalist society emerged generates a national and social citizenship¹⁰¹ and also it includes as individual

¹⁰⁰Burnham (1995) op. cit. p. 4.

¹⁰¹Turner B. S (1986). '*Citizenship and Capitalism.*' London: Allen and Unwin, partic-

rights, equality and freedom as well as free movement. These rights are not seen as particularised or connected with some groups or categories, but they are justified through the 'nature of man', that is they are natural and universal. In this sense, the global character of capitalist relations is embodied in the legal political category of the state, that is in citizenship. However, on the one hand, this universality of equality or freedom which seems to refer to all people as human beings is guaranteed by the state, while on the other hand, the state itself limits these rights to certain people in certain geographical areas. In this context, the state power, confined in a national territory through nationalism, determines its population's national character in order to establish its rule as a peoples' sovereign power while simultaneously it defines and excludes the 'others' as foreigners and alien. Nationals gradually acquire common characteristics over time through a series of national institutions and state mechanisms, and under the status of citizenship they participate in a political and national community. The content of the concept of the alien is not something static but rather the content of the concept is defined by the determination of elements of national character depending on historical social circumstances and conditions and it can include abstract or very concrete meaning¹⁰².

ularly Chapter 1.

¹⁰²It can be referred to certain nationalities, certain customs, certain symbols and certain

The determination of the national character of a population creates hierarchical power relations, which does necessarily include superiority or inferiority elements or express subordination openly. However, in all cases, aliens are a potential 'threat', since their presence can alter the character of a nation, namely it can deteriorate values and characteristics which make a nation distinct and unique. So, the state as a sovereign power has the obligation to protect its boundaries and its people from 'foreigners' in the name of the common good and at the same time form social relations between national and foreigners under this logic.

3.9.2 National states in the specialisation of migration.

The emergence and the expansion of capitalism worldwide has simultaneously created the potentiality of people to move to an 'open space'. Abstractly and hypothetically, as Poulantzas ¹⁰³ remarks,

'the separation of the direct producer from his means of labour and his liberation from personal bonds involve a process of de-territorialisation but the whole process is inscribed in a fresh space which precisely involves closures and successive segmentations. In this modern space, people change position ad infinitum

ways of life.

¹⁰³Poulantzas (1978) op. cit. p. 104.

by traversing separations in which each place is defined by its distance from others.'

Another related point, is that the expansion of capitalism worldwide does not mean that it cannot coexist with other modes of production, and as Cohen argues, can combine also other forms of labour¹⁰⁴. In addition, capitalism can also develop under different political regimes and ideologies. However, this does not mean that this coexistence establishes a series of 'Laws' which organise different kinds of relations. The separation of the market from the state was also expressed and established in these societies with the market being the exclusive domain for economic relations while the state exists to guarantee the right to property. Simultaneously, all other social relations which also involve economic relations are based on normative systems which are left outside the 'Law' since they are not seen as being consistent to capitalist market norms ¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁴Cohen R. (1987) *'The new helots.'* London: Avebury, Chapter 1.

¹⁰⁵Examples are the family or the household - which are seen as traditional elements and backward characteristics of these societies and not seen within a unified system which creates inequalities and power differences - relations which involve moral and also material support, and the patronage and clientelist relations which are based on reciprocal economic relations between persons or hierarchical social categories interrelated with power, political and moral relations. The above relations function with their own rules, commitment and sanctions for the offenders next to the market. Generally, they are seen as irrational or

Generally, these societies are seen as confined in certain geographical areas and they are seen as irrational and traditional with the impression that advanced capitalist societies are not characterised by the above relations¹⁰⁶. So, state and societies are divided according to 'stages' of development with the un- and under- developed countries being seen as backward and not seen as participating in a united system which creates inequalities and power differences. Simultaneously, the state discourse and practice in the process of the categorisation of migrants within the immigration countries follow the framework within which states and societies are being categorised. Moreover, it is still evident -studying migrant movements from the 'un' and 'less' to the 'developed' countries - that there exist theoretical elaborations in the migration discourse which are based on household or family grounds as institutions which have multifaceted strategies and they are seen as basic units in the migration decision making.

Within this framework, the movements of people are restricted by the state which is constructing national unity and common good on the basis of a common history within its territory. The state is also setting up 'a national market by marking out frontiers of what thereby becomes the they are seen as localised solely within societies outside the advanced capitalist countries

see Tsoukalas (1991) *op. cit.* pp. 153-161.

¹⁰⁶Tsoukalas (1991) *op. cit.* pp. 153-161.

inside of an outside'¹⁰⁷, in order to facilitate the expansion of capital and commodities¹⁰⁸, in other words, capitalism is setting up simultaneously, an international market and is constructing inter-state relations based on competition.

By definition, capital does not have any problems to move and it flows across frontiers with ease, under the national aim of development or prosperity and progress which is connected with economic indicators. States under international economic competition, try to attract and keep capital investments in their territories. On the other hand, the movements of people, not only as free labourers but generally as individuals with a certain citizenship and nationality, always depend on the state's will to accept them, and under which status, in its territory. Therefore, the nation state with its borders is an inherent barrier in free migration movements, irrespectively of the form and the extension which the nation state interference can take. Additionally, the nation state's task is not only to protect its people and its territory from outsiders, but also from the 'enemy within', namely to construct a unity and homogeneity of the nationals and to protect their well being, their values

¹⁰⁷ibid p. 106.

¹⁰⁸This point however does mean that the nation state is reducible just to economic relations or it is an instrument of dominant classes. But as he argues it is this 'national state which organises the bourgeoisie as the dominant class'.

and their community, from the foreigners which are within its boundaries.

Uneven development and the division between rich and poor countries, divides states into immigration and emigration ones, and constructs the image of migrants as self-interest free individuals who act rationally¹⁰⁹ in order to maximise their interests and move from a poor to a rich country, competing with nationals over present and future scarce resources.

3.9.3 Migration as in and against capital relations.

A fundamental point is that the forms of social relations are altering and changing in their process of reproduction since various conflicts arise depending on particular historical conditions. In these processes, it can be said that alterations are interwoven with the experience and symbolic perception or in other words, with the practice of collectivities. This practice can take on different expressions such as consent or resistance and protest from the part of the collectivities in order to change existing institutionalised practices and rules. Of course, the social struggles and their demands do not become incorporated in the 'structures' immediately or without resistance and fighting against.

Thus, migration can also be seen as a social struggle which questions

¹⁰⁹Even though he/she comes from an 'irrational' society.

the existing organisation of social relations in the interstate system that is, a social struggle against and in the existing forms of social relations¹¹⁰. This aspect of migration implies that migration movements within a system, which consists of political and national boundaries, are a praxis of questioning the way that this system is organised and divided into states with a distinct national community. Irrespective of the status of entry of migrants in an immigration country, migrants act - according to or not to legal rules - in order to transcend the entrenching forms of social relations. In this sense, migration can be seen as migrants' social experience in a divided and alienated world, and as such, migration is not only a movement according to capitalist forms of social relations but also it is a process of negation, that is a praxis of 'resistance', a form of peoples protest against these existing forms of social relations and divisions¹¹¹.

At this stage, it is necessary to explore the concrete framework and existing forms of social relations which are expressed in migration development in

¹¹⁰This argument is transferred from Holloway's work which refers to 'our existence against and in capital' to migration which the latter is seen as a mode of existence in capitalism' *Open Marxism. Vol. III* p. 176.

¹¹¹These forms are expressed in both national and international terms and they create alienation or in other words, borders, exclusions, subordination, divisions, categorisation and inequalities.

order to understand the process of institutionalised or structural resistance against migration as an expression of social struggle.

First of all, during the 19th century and until Second World War, capitalism expanded, and as a result forced migration movements occurred. Simultaneously, a first division arose between migration constructed states such as Canada and the USA¹¹² and 'homogeneous' nation-states or emigration countries in Europe¹¹³. After the Second World War, the independence of previous colonies and the emergence of new 'nation-states' was established, the form of nation state has become the dominant legitimated expression of a state ¹¹⁴. Moreover, another division arose, that between immigration countries, which this time includes almost all the advanced capitalist countries, and sending countries which comprise the rest of the world.

Generally speaking, the processes of different forms of social relations

¹¹²Among other reasons due to people fleeing religious persecution and availability of land.

¹¹³Due to nationalism and both free and forced migration.

¹¹⁴The homogeneity of a state does not necessarily make use of the criterion of a common language or the same ethnic and cultural origins see Habermas (1994) p. 27. It can be said that the emergence of a particular nation-state and criteria of homogeneity depend on the historical conditions. Historically, homogeneity was either on transcendence of different 'ethnic categories' and united them in the basis of a common political culture or were based on historical continuity of one particular ethnicity.

have constructed a social reality on the grounds of a 'possessive individual' who is free, equal and rational¹¹⁵ and at the same time, on the existence of national states as homogeneous and distinct cultural traditions of their people. Moreover, other forms of social relations (such as money, value, credit) are interwoven with the previous ones and have shaped the social reality in terms of the 'natural' scarcity of resources and the achievement of economic stability and prosperity and are possible through the competition not only among individuals but also among states. The latter are divided into poor and rich and in order for rich states to be able to keep their economic position in a competitive world, they should adopt a series of policies and also function in certain ways.

In more detail, besides the heterogeneous rôle of the state in capitalism providing the legal and political framework in order for economic competition to be achieved, the state is the only legitimate power for 'security of the Law and Order' and for protection of its territory. These functions of the state emerge simultaneously with the division between the public and private sphere and with the emergence of capitalist relations. Despite the fact that there is a private sphere in which the individual is free from the wider

¹¹⁵The individual has been the basic unit also in the construction of international organisations after the Second World War.

society, the state increasingly develops an administrative system (individual documentation, registration, compulsory education and generally more detailed surveillance) ¹¹⁶ which penetrates aspects of this private sphere. Since one of the obligations of the state has been to protect its territory, the state has also developed an administrative system for monitoring the entry into, and stay of 'foreigners' within its territory. It establishes a legal system concerning 'foreigners' and alters the regulations according to the ideological, social, political, economic and cultural conditions. So, the nation state as the political organisation of the capitalist national society is a constituent element in migration.

The state, as the guarantor of individual rights, secured the right of individuals to move freely within and outside of its territory, on the basis of their autonomy and independence. The penetration of capitalist logic in social relations also presupposes the right to property, seen as a sacred right for the development of economic relations. In particular, the right to property is respected, since it is included within sacred individual rights and is always protected, even though the remaining individual rights can be violated in certain circumstances. Simultaneously, in the early times of capitalism the

¹¹⁶Hobsbawm (1992) *op. cit.* pp. 80-81 and Abercrombie et al (1986) *op. cit.* pp. 148-150.

borders of the national territory allowed capital, labour and commodities to expand internationally or transnationally. Through this process of the extension of power exchange relations, capital and commodity were proved to circulate freely internationally, but as far as labour movements were concerned, they were confronted by many constraints and obstacles. Despite the formality and universality of freedom, a justification for the restrictions on movements of labour migration can vary, and are based not only on economic relations but also on the political power relations between states. Under these conditions, uneven development implies unequal power relations and a hierarchy between states and consequent migrants from certain states cannot be seen as 'foreigners' in the political or public debate. On the other hand, labour which is seen as commodity¹¹⁷ cannot appear as a-national or deterritorialised and movements of migrants are seen as vehicles of different nationality¹¹⁸.

Therefore, the emergence of the capitalist state from its onset, laid the foundations for the future categorisations of migration and the potential migrants' position in a different state from that of their state of nationality.

¹¹⁷Labour as a private property is an ideological invention in capitalism in order to justify the equality and autonomy of individuals.

¹¹⁸However, owing to the fact that labour is not an object but a human characteristic intrinsic in all individuals, movements of people mean movements of social actors.

The processes of capitalist forms of social relations such as state, capital, and nation are being interwoven generating social unities and divisions and they are simultaneously developing, in and through, the migration process. In this logic, the image of migrants has been constructed as self-interest free individuals who act rationally and search for their well being. On the other hand, the image of the same migrants - namely, those who move from a poor to a rich country has potentially been seen as 'aliens' who compete with the nationals over present and future scarce resources. Potentially, migrants can be seen as the 'others' who break through the frontiers and become insiders, a threat for the general good and general interest.

The ideological construction of the 'other' as a threat, 'an enemy within' can be said to function in two ways: The first way is by determining new common values and symbols which unite nationals and assist them in finding a common basis, a social bond away from their existence as competitive individuals. In other words, migrants can be seen as consisting of a 'homogeneous category' and a 'reference group' ¹¹⁹ which confirms the membership

¹¹⁹See Runciman W.G. (1996) *'Relative Deprivation and social justice.'* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. In his exploration of relative deprivation he applies the notion of 'reference group' which refers to a group's social grievance and this inequality of a group involves 'a comparison with the imagined situation of some person or group ... or even an abstract idea' p. 11.

group of nationals; they are the conjunctive bond of the nationals, a basis to reaffirm nationals' homogeneity. All the other elements which differentiate individuals and their conditions of social life can be ignored as they exclusively define themselves as nationals, as opposed to aliens. In other words, they find a form of social belongingness and solidarity and re-affirm the policies of state which are based on nationals' preferential and exclusive treatment.

The second way is related to the fact that migrants under certain circumstances can be seen as self-interest individuals exclusively responsible for their actions and performances and consequently the immigration state has no obligation towards them, since they are neither nationals, nor members of its political community. In this sense, migrants due to their status as foreigners are seen exclusively in market terms as individuals free to sell their labour and lose all the other social dimensions of their existence, that is they are dehumanised. This second way, can be explored through the adoption of welfare policies and neoliberal policies from the part of the state after the Second World War in Europe. The period after the Second World War was characterised by the influx of migrants into Western European countries and the parallel establishment of the welfare state. It was not the first influx of migrants which occurred in these societies but it was the social conjuncture

that brought migration within the public debate onto a new basis.

3.9.4 Historical processes through migration with special reference to Western European countries.

Before examining the ways in which migration constructs and reconstructs social and political practices in immigration states, it is necessary to mention that the political and economic choices among a series of alternatives and their outcomes in order for social relations in capitalist society to be reproduced, are not deterministic or just solely directed by structures. There is an interaction between a series of social factors and historical conjuncture in which contingent determinants or unintended consequences play a crucial rôle. Similarly, in the case of migration, there is not only a one-sided process from the part of exclusive economic needs or from the part of the state's interests which causes and directs migration movements, but states, societies and migrants and nationals groups actions themselves, form the process of migration.

Under the specific conditions of the post-war era, the migration movements to Europe were justified on the grounds of economic expansion and thus, migration was seen as 'labour migration'. At the same time, specific circumstances gradually generated the above form of migration as a sponta-

neous movement in a permanent sense in an unevenly developed world. Migrants arrived in these states under the status of foreign workers or refugees or citizens. As far as the status of foreign workers is concerned, the interference of the state varied depending on the national context; in some of them, the state had a crucial and active rôle in the recruitment of foreign workers, while in others the state did not seem to participate in migration recruitment or issues related to migrants stay and settlement. On the contrary, the state has always had the exclusive rôle in deciding about the entry and recognition of asylum seekers as refugees. In addition, during the same period the state's rôle in these societies changed; the state from a heteronomous seemed to become an autonomous political organisation since it was participating in economic decision making and was active in adopting economic policies including the distribution of income. As mentioned earlier, the state formulated and applied economic and social policies with the aim of achieving economic prosperity and an affluent society in the name of the general/common benefit/good.

Irrespective of active or not state intervention in labour migration, it is apparent that migrants were seen as a 'means' for the achievement of economic goals of states and their societies. It can be argued that some states, eg. France, USA, Canada, Australia, saw immigration as beneficial

to host in their population, in order to enhance their power status and thus immigrants acquired a favourable position in these countries. Generally speaking however, it can be said that immigrant groups are seen as a means for the achievement of such goals as economic growth, population expansion or national security. Additionally and more importantly, since the postwar period, the state's intervention into the economy and the following limitation of its intervention on the grounds of economic logic - the logic to use people as means for policy particularly for economic goals - gradually penetrates all aspects of the society. In cases where people or groups are not seen as an appropriate means, they can be marginalised or expelled. This drastic action can be legitimated on such utilitarian grounds.

3.9.5 Migration as a struggle within the national context.

It can be argued that the economic logic was employed not only for the recruitment of migrant workers for exclusively economic needs, but also in the formulation of immigration stopping policies which began being applied simultaneously with the economic crisis. But it has been glorified in the process of neoliberal policies, that is during the dominance of market logic and the inclusion of strict and repressive policies against migration. Labour migrants arrived in European states during the development of welfare state

policies and the active intervention of the state in economy. In this period, the demands for the participation of workers in decision making and the power of trade unions increased. Issues such as social inequalities and rights emerged in public debate, along with other social demands expressed by social struggles including those of migrants. Various social groups posed new perspectives and patterns for the function of societies relating to the meaning and application of rights in 'migration 'national' societies'.

The democratic regime in these states influenced and was influenced by the migrants' struggle. In states, such as the UK, in which migrants, even though they were not seen as nationals, they nevertheless had formally equal rights like nationals, migrants were therefore eligible for social rights. In states where migrants were recruited as workers, the attribution of social rights to them was seen as not compatible with their status since state intervention in distribution was based on the notion of citizenship and citizen rights in terms of a national community. In both cases, the issue of migration from the part of migrants struggles challenged the dominant logic upon which the organisation of social relations was based. The adoption of welfare policies had been constructed on the reproduction of given social relations, or in a sense, on citizenship and nationality as two formal statuses for membership in a nation state. In these conditions, the nationalist form of social

relations would potentially interact with other forms of social relations (relation between state-form/economic form) and in some cases it would direct public debate towards migrants' nationality and thus migrants' eligibility for rights could be questioned on the basis of their status as 'foreigners'. In other cases, it can be said that the nationalist form of social relations had already interacted with and been expressed through the migration form of social relations. However, in all cases, both the political discourse on equality and the state intervention in the economy resulted in the obvious social inequality becoming an issue in question¹²⁰. Thus, migrants irrespective of whether they were citizens or not, also participated in an unfair and unequal market systems and this brought into high relief the issue of conditions of membership and universality in a 'national society'.

It can be argued that migrants' demands for social justice and equality were based on their experience of subordination and exploitation in a capitalist society; and their struggles were in and against capitalist forms of social relations, including nationalist, sexist and racist inequalities. In other words, they themselves also posed the social question, that is, the

¹²⁰Equality was seen in the political discourse that every citizen is equal before the law and all individuals are equal in the terms of the rights of man and the states' economic intervention seems to question the market's ability to generate a fair or equal distribution of resources.

broader reproduction of social relations in the political process. However, the structure of the welfare states and the ways in which migrant workers entered into immigration states' markets, brought about more segmentation and division of waged workers into nationals and foreigners. So, waged workers seem not to have collective interests, but on the contrary, have been divided, since they cannot see themselves as members of a united class and are consequently unable to promote their collective interests or to invoke a sense of class solidarity¹²¹.

3.9.6 The segmentation of social relations and struggles.

The segmentation of the labour market into so called 'primary' and 'secondary' not only includes illegal or semi-illegal forms of the informal market, but also forms of seasonal, part-time and temporary work and generally, is characterised by the lack of workers protection. In other words, through the segmentation of the labour market, it can be said that the capital relation has incorporated past and present forms of social subordinations, which are based on gender, race and ethnicity. But at the same time, its existence also plays a major rôle in challenging the institutionalised social effects of subordinations and discriminations, but not on the basis of social class solidar-

¹²¹Hinrich K. (1988) '*Time money and welfare state capitalism.*' in J. Keane (ed) (1988)

'Civil Society and the State.' London: Verso, p. 229.

ity. Moreover, the involvement of trade unions in political decision making, and state welfare policies which were also based on 'work-based' benefits¹²², together with migrants' participation in the market as Freeman¹²³ argues 'makes the expulsion of migrants from the protection of the welfare state difficult'.

The migration struggles have also been focused on the issues of social mobility and equal opportunity. In terms of equal opportunity, migrants emerged as a group which suffered from discrimination, and they focused on policies in order to abolish discrimination. Moreover, since welfare state distribution could be seen to be based on participation in the market rather than citizenship, the status of foreigners as not being eligible for social services could be untrue. This point of view permitted migrants demands to be expressed and to be viewed as competitive with those of nationals. The segmentation of the market also revealed, that market divisions into primary and secondary sections are also based on gender and racial criteria.

Freeman uses a kind of cost-benefit schema, relating it with phases in the

¹²²See Twine for the distinction between 'means-tested' benefits and 'work-based' or 'as of right' benefits, Twine F. (1994) *'Citizenship and social rights.'* London: Sage, pp. 95-101.

¹²³Freeman G. P. (1986) *'Migration and the political economy of the welfare state.'* *Annals of the American Academy*, 485 p. 53.

post war migration, in order to analyse the entry of migrants into welfare states and to explore convenient and beneficial types of migration as far as both states and migrants are concerned. He argues that 'widespread migration was caused by the division of working class and its strength connecting it with ethnically homogeneous and racially distinct groups'¹²⁴. However, it can not be argued that it was migration which caused the disorganisation of the working class. But, it is rather the way that the welfare state developed and provided social policies which segmented the national labour market into nationals and non-nationals. Moreover, it is also the contradictory basis of class relations which is expressed by the national-global tension and as Burnham states¹²⁵

'To increase the chances of attracting and retaining capital within their boundaries, national states pursue a plethora of policies as well as offering inducements and incentives for investment. However, the 'success' of these 'national' policies depends upon re-establishing conditions for the expanded accumulation of capital on a world scale'.

Thus, in this process, it is not migration which has negative effects on

¹²⁴Freeman (1986) op. cit. p. 61.

¹²⁵Burnham (1995) op. cit. p. 105.

the political or economic framework of immigration states, but the ways in which social relations are organised in capitalism and are expressed through migration. In other words, migration itself condenses the fragmented and fetishised forms of social relations which are developed in racist, sexist, nationalistic, ethnic and economic terms, nationally and globally.

The state, in the case of migration, can be seen as the sovereign political power which mediates and negotiates the entry and stay of migrants and their relations with nationals. In this perspective, the connection between economic needs and the influx of migrants shaped the public image of migrants as autonomous - not as heteronomous which need the assistance of the state - and free individuals who voluntarily moved according to the rules of the market. But they also emerged as a social category, as heteronomous individuals in competition with other social categories for the limited sources of the state, owing to inequalities and social divisions which penetrate the economic sphere. In the perspective of migrants as heteronomous individuals, the welfare state has to intervene to protect them from inequality and unfair conditions since the state generally is seen as the sovereign power which protects individual rights. Furthermore, the welfare state - which tries to reconcile both social and economic rationalities - should provide migrants with social rights. However, the demands of migrants for social rights

became a conflicting issue in the reproduction of social relations.

As mentioned earlier the market distribution remained exclusively the main source of income, and since migrants were seen as autonomous and free individuals, they received their revenue according to their free choice of participation in the production process. However, in terms of the complementary distribution of the state - which was based on the statistical categorisation of individuals without any prior framework of rights - migrants were not seen as a justified category in the process of the assertion of social rights. First of all, migrants were newcomers in a society and non nationals, and as such most of the time deprived of the status of citizens, therefore, they were not able to negotiate and participate in struggles for social rights. Secondly, the relations which the welfare state established were not based on solidarity between social groups, but on competition, and since the state had to extract its resources from other individuals, the competition was expressed as an antagonism ¹²⁶ between the different social groups; an ideological element of practice which intensified the competition between nationals and non-nationals. In addition, not only is there the increasing rôle of the state in the economy, but generally, the rôle of the state means that the state's actions and policies are judged by its achievements

¹²⁶See previous section.

to reduce crises and social inequalities. In the case of migration, it has to absorb all the potential pressures from a variety of social interest groups and particularly both nationals and migrants.

In this context, migrants' rights became a controversial issue which partly emerged from the reluctance of the state to undertake to remedy the unfavourable results of migrants' participation in the market, since although the latter was responsible for causing inequalities, these are justified in capitalist societies. Despite the fact that there was not a basis for granting social rights, and they were temporary and negotiable, the migrant groups in the welfare states, amongst other groups, challenged the nationality element in the definition of citizenship.

States' migration debates and practices are based on 'trade offs'¹²⁷ type thinking; migrants are believed to be useful for just economic reasons in certain circumstances, but generally, the 'well being' of nationals is incompatible with the migrants' appearance in their societies, especially under the neoliberal policies and the convergence of nationalistic ideology. Thus, the state has to decide between the two aims and protect its nationals, namely it has to monitor migrants already within its territory, and stop future migrant influx in its territory since 'so much of migration against so much of

¹²⁷Macpherson (1985) op. cit. p. 45.

the well-being of the nationals and their values’.

In the migration debate, migration refers to propertyless migrants while other types of migration, such as migration of professionals or managers, are not seen to be included in the political debate, since they participate in the so called ‘primary’ labour market and they are seen as a group which empowers the state, and are usually beneficial to the political goal of economic prosperity and growth. The above point is applicable also to the migration of nationals among advanced capitalist countries. However, all the above elements which construct migration as a form of social relations in a strict economic and nationalistic logic, are not lacking in contradictions and crises in both national and international levels¹²⁸. However, in a sense, some citizens rights have been formally extended to all groups ¹²⁹, but the formality of equality and freedom is not automatically applied within social practice. This gap activated excluded and disadvantaged groups to struggle

¹²⁸The unity of national and international levels is going to be explored in the following chapter, but it can be mentioned, that the prevalence of economic and cost-benefit logic within national borders have resulted in a more rigid and uneven development among states. In addition the marginalisation of some of them which is going to threaten conditions of life worldwide and the system itself. Moreover, the increasing fragmentation and particularisation of social life in national terms also poses the threat of breaking any social bond and solidarity among people.

¹²⁹Young I. M. (1989) ‘*Polity and Group Difference.*’ *Ethics* Vol. 99 pp. 250-274.

for their equal status. In these terms, the family reunification can be seen only in terms of migrants demands, or in an avoidable state's obligation in terms of the protection of human rights. It can also be said that migrants through their experience and their social relations in immigration countries along with their exclusion from aspects of social life or their lack of social relations with nationals, due to racist, nationalistic, or religious forms of social relations, develop an 'ethnic consciousness' turning into their ethnic groups, establishing ethnic communities or re-unifying with their families in the process of adjusting themselves in a new state of residence. Moreover, family reunification also facilitates the reluctance of the state to grant them social rights.

3.9.7 A fundamental separation in and through the migration process.

Another segmentation which is related with, and shapes migration as well, is the division between economic and political migrants¹³⁰ or migrants and asylum seekers, depending on the reasons why migrants leave a country. It is seen that in the case of economic migrants, migrants exercise their right to move, but in the case of asylum seekers, people are forced to leave a country

¹³⁰Or voluntary and involuntary migrants;

due to fears of political persecution¹³¹. In the previous section, this study explored the emergence and establishment of capitalist societies in terms of the separation among different domains of social formation with each domain, seemingly having its own regulations and competence. Under this logic, it is apparent that migration divisions are affected by the historical separation of the political from economic and social, namely the segmentation of social reality and also the segmentation of the political into national states; the classification of migrants' motives is in fact the crystallisation of this hegemonic separation. So, migration as a contemporary social phenomenon and under its definition as a form of social relations incorporates this fundamental segmentation of capitalism.

One can argue that this division is justified on humanitarian grounds and it is necessary in order for the states to provide asylum to people who are persecuted on political grounds, and of course this is a normative and pragmatic point of view. However, it can be argued that it is also necessary to take into account the historical development and process of capitalist social relations, which reproduce the existing inequalities and different power relations of states internationally, thus constructing an image of entrenched

¹³¹See Zolberg, A. R. (1989) *'Escape from violence: conflict and the refugee crisis in the developing world.'* New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

lines among states, with the advanced capitalist states being seen as democratic and tolerant states in which human rights and general rights are absolutely consolidated. There are many examples across states, where coerced or forced migration can occur. However, there is a list of states which are considered as intolerant and coercive on international or national ideological grounds. Consequently only nationals from these states can be accepted officially as asylum seekers or refugees. For the states, the perceived image and practice towards migrants is that most of them are economic migrants disguised as asylum seekers, specifically most of them are labour workers. This attitude eliminates the consideration of motives different than the conventional segmented ones, and justifies one-dimensional migration policies and additionally bounds the theoretical elaborations of the migration phenomenon into 'realistic' categories, divisions and ideological constructions and practices¹³².

3.10 Conclusion.

In this chapter, the recent historical processes of some forms of social relations as the general social framework, or as forms which take place, in and

¹³²Of course, there are exceptions in migration literature such as Richmond and Zolberg works.

through, the migration process especially in advanced capitalist states were studied. As any social phenomenon, migration is complex since, not only is it subject to constant change but it also incorporates other forms of social relations.

The previous and present developments are contained within migration today, and this study has examined historically the establishment of the nation state in order to isolate some elements of social processes which are preconditions for the way that migration exists at the present time.

Capitalist social relations are seen as a social totality which is differentiated but in unity. The prevalence of economic logic, the capitalist state (in its national, nationalistic and international forms), the social question as it is expressed in welfare state and neoliberal policies, the inclusion of gender, 'race' and ethnic relations in capital relations and their concrete expressions in mechanisms and in social struggles, are seen as constituent elements in shaping migration as a form of social relations. They are all internal parts of capital relations and its contradictions, in the process of social reproduction within the existing forms of unequal and exploitative social relations. All these forms, including migration, participate in the reproduction of, but also question, these forms of social relations, trying to transcend them, depending on historical conditions.

The last part of this chapter studied the unfolding of general social processes in the migration process. This was done from the aspect of different political, economic and social logics which are adopted in national states in association with migration demands in these 'fragmented' societies. Migration itself, since it is part of this totality, is a process in which migrants experience social conditions and their demands are related to these forms and processes. This experience is an internal part of the establishment and re-establishment of these forms of social relations in the process of migrants' participation as foreigners in a nation-state.

The next chapter will examine the concept of 'international' as the general context for migration which is divided in national political territories and the latter are seen as independent sovereign powers. Moreover, it will focus on the development of migration policies and flows through the relationship between national and international contexts in order to understand the rôle of the national state in the foundation of social relations between nationals and foreigners, as well as contemporary conflicts and inconsistencies which have emerged in the migration process.

Chapter 4

The international context of the migration process.

4.1 States as independent ‘national’ sovereign powers and migration in the international context

4.1.1 Introduction.

In the previous chapter, this study explored the historical capitalist context in which migration as a form of social relations is shaped and processed. The focus was on social totality and its fragmentation under specific capitalist social relations as the historical framework in which migration exists and

occurs.

It was argued that migration is another form of social relations in process and the way that other forms of social relations are processed in and through migration was explored. Generally, the state was studied as an 'obstacle' and 'barrier' to the free movement of people across space and as a power which formulates social relations under the legal and political status of citizenship and nationality, identifying simultaneously the abstract and practical concept of 'others' or aliens. The previous analysis of migration as an internal part of social totality was centered on the broad rôle of the state in order to construct the forms of social relations and the ways that migrant groups can participate in a national confined territory or community. Therefore, the analysis was preoccupied with the specific political form of the capitalist state in a confined territory and the ways in which the state as a process exists in and through migration.

In this chapter, attention will focus on the division of this political form in multiple national states within the international system and also the ways in which migration movements and migration policies adopted by governments are inter-related within this system. The aim of this chapter is to study the states as legitimate sovereign powers protecting their territories from aliens through the formulation and implementation of rules and policies

but also as the political framework through which social demands (related to migration) can be institutionalised. In other words, to explore how the states as negotiators within and outside of their territories can form the social relations within their territories or how they can mediate in order for existing forms of social relations to be reproduced. That is, the examination of how the states manage or fail to manage to overcome social conflicts and tensions associated with migration in specific historical conditions.

As far as the connection between 'national' and 'international' is concerned, it is important to explore this relationship, - since as mentioned earlier, the historical emergence of capitalism brought about an economic international system but a political system divided into national states - which means that people are simultaneously able and unable to migrate. Under this perspective, migration policies and flows transcend the relationships between emigration and immigration countries and are connected as parts of an inter-state context. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the focus has been on the ways in which migration incorporates as inherent elements, other forms of social relations such as capital, state, 'race', gender, and nation in its existing form. Also, the ways that these elements have been continuously revealed as parallel and internal processes through migration. In this context, the concern also was on the national state and its domestic

organisation of social relations, although it was assumed that states act in an inter-state system which any study of migration should take into account. Therefore, in this chapter, it is necessary to explore the concept of 'international' in theory and practice, in association with migration. In other words, to explore the ways that the inter-state or international relations in broader social terms, not exclusively in economic terms, is a social totality, or rather, it is the starting point in order to understand both 'national' social phenomena or 'social phenomena' which are considered as international such as migration between states.

The first part of this chapter will focus on migration flows and policies in the post Second World War era in order to examine contemporary issues in the international migration process, particularly in 'immigration countries'. The second will investigate the rôle of national states in the process of reproduction of social relations simultaneously in national and international contexts. The concept of 'international' and its construction through relations among states and through social struggles will also be examined in order to connect different dimensions of migration.

4.2 International migration: migration policies and migration flows and their interaction.

4.2.1 Migration flows and dominant debates in the national and international context.

In this section, attention will focus on migration policies and migration flows, in the terms of historical developments in order to see how new issues of migration emerge in international migration, in the contemporary era. Additionally, it will examine how these aspects of migration are perceived and explained in theoretical and concrete terms.

The historical exploration of migration flows shows that migration is a permanent characteristic of human societies whose form changes according to the historical organisation of social relations. According to Castles and Miller

‘from the end of the Middle Ages, the development of European states and their colonisation of the rest of the world gave a new impetus to international migrations of many different kinds, foreshadowing the mass movements of the contemporary period’¹.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, the slave trade and indentured

¹Castles and Miller (1993) op. cit. p. 43.

labour, but also intra-European migrations were major types of migration which led to population growth and economic development in new areas. It was also a period during which the division between 'immigration countries' (such as USA and Canada) and 'homogeneous countries' (European countries) or 'nation-states' emerged. The above distinction does not mean that either 'immigration countries' or 'homogeneous countries' did not apply restrictive immigration policies defining 'unwanted' migration² and prohibited the entry of migrants with certain origins. Furthermore, it was the interwar period in which more restrictive measures were applied. Simultaneously an awareness of the necessity to have a distinction between migrants and people who needed protection and assistance emerged (Russians and Jews from European countries)³. The period after the Second World War until the oil crisis of 1973, has been seen as another phase of mass migration particularly of workers from 'less developed' to 'developed' countries. The perspective -under which migration movements were seen especially up to the 1970s as N. Harris points out⁴ has been the connection of economic growth with migrant labour demand and generally, under the permanent impression that

²ibid pp. 52-57.

³see Zolberg (1989) op. cit. pp. 18-29.

⁴Harris N. (1995) *'The New Untouchables. Immigration and the new world worker.'*

London: Tauris, p. 3.

‘all advanced industrialising powers required migration to sustain growth’.

Since the 1950s and until the 1970s, an expanding population movement from all the continents was involved in migration. It was not only the migrant workers who went to Western European countries either as guest workers or as ‘colonial workers’ but migrants from Asia and Middle East went to Australia (these two were seen as permanent) and migrant workers from Arab countries and Asia went to the oil producing countries of the Persian Gulf mainly under recruitment schemes ⁵. These movements had been seen in terms of the receiving and sending countries relationships and according to M. Weiner ‘governments and economists regarded migration as beneficial to both countries’⁶.

Although there seemed to be a general impression about a clear-cut specialisation or division between immigration and emigration countries in that period, in fact countries were involved in the migration process beyond bilateral relations between countries since they experienced both emigration and immigration simultaneously. As N. Harris points out

‘Maliens and Senegalese went to work in Sicily as Sicilians moved north, and in Spain as Spaniards moved to France. Egyptians

⁵See Weiner M. (1995) *‘The global migration crisis: challenge to states and to human rights.’* New York: Harper and Collins, p.4 and Castles and Miller (1993) op. cit. p. 66.

⁶Weiner (1995) op. cit. p. 4.

and Pakistanis migrated to Greece as Greeks went to work in Germany. Poles went to work in Germany and Scandinavia, while Russians and Ukrainians took jobs in Poland. Egyptians worked on Jordanian farms and Jordan's Palestinians worked in the Gulf. Indonesians manned Malaysia's plantations, while Malays migrated to Singapore'⁷.

However, the participation of countries in the international migration process, did not mean that political attention was paid equally to both immigration and emigration.

As far as the other dimension of migration movements (asylum seekers and refugees) is concerned, after the emergence and establishment of nationality as *sine qua non* element of the belonging in a state initially, the protection of aliens was not an individual's right but one's own state's entitlement in terms of the rights and obligations of states one to another⁸. However, after the Second World War, this protection was transformed and included in the individuals rights and a series of international agreements and organisations were set up, for example the International Refugee Organisation and its successor United Nations High Commissioner's Office for

⁷Harris (1995) op. cit. pp. 10-11.

⁸Dummett A. and Nicol A. (1990) '*Subjects, citizens, aliens and others: nationality and immigration law.*' London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson , p. 14.

Refugees⁹, adopting a 'regime' for asylum seekers, refugees and displaced persons. One aspect of this 'regime' at least identifies the grounds on which an asylum seeker or displaced person can be granted the status of refugee and his/her consequent rights. Of course, the establishment of a common legal definition internationally, does not mean that states are not flexible in formulating and implementing policies towards asylum-seekers and refugees and that they do not have the right to define who is acceptable as an asylum-seeker or who is not within each state's boundaries. The establishment and the acceptance by the state of the above distinction between asylum-seekers and migrant does not mean that people seeking asylum have been welcomed in other states since this classification includes both migrants and asylum seekers in the broader category of 'aliens'.

Historically, it seems that refugee flows were regarded as a problem by governments even when migration movements were connected with economic growth and the governments seemed to be positively disposed towards migration. However, during the Cold War order, it is said that

'the refugee populations seemed small in number and rather lo-

⁹Miles and Satzewich argue that resettlement of refugees by IRO associated with labour migration policy, since IRO attempted to link refugees skill and experience with the stated demands of the receiving countries Miles R. and Satzewich V. (1990) *'Migration racism and 'postmodern' capitalism.'* *Economy and Society* 19 (3) pp. 334-357.

calised in their impact and therefore, refugees did not seem to imply a long-term threat to the stability of this order¹⁰.

Since the 1980s, migration is seen to have expanded worldwide and increasingly to include more population movements and more countries. Today, it can be said that almost all countries are involved in the migration process either as emigration countries and/or immigration countries with the consequence that the origin of migrants is characterised by multiplicity. Factors which seem to influence and lend a new global character to migration are considered to be the end of the Cold war, or the 'collapse of the really existing socialism'¹¹, the easier worldwide communication of all kinds, the high unemployment rates with stagnating growth and 'globalisation'.

Thus, the intensification of migration is based on the grounds of demographic and economic disparities between 'developed' and 'developing' countries, between North and South - even though the 'new flows go mainly between countries in the South'¹² as a permanent and structural character-

¹⁰Gould W. T. S. in Gould W. T. S. and Findlay A. M. (eds) (1994) *Population Migration and the Changing World Order.* Chichester: Willey, p. 4

¹¹Thränhardt D. and Miles R. (1995) *Migration and European Integration.* London: Pinter, p. 1.

¹²Hammar T. and Tamas K. (1997) *'Why do people migrate?'* in Hammar T., Brochman G., Tamas K., and Faist T. (eds) (1997) *International migration, immobility and development.* Oxford: Berg, pp. 1-29.

istic in a divided world. A general conclusion is Stalker's remark that

'migration tends to build up a momentum of its own. The tap, once turned on, is very difficult to turn off'¹³.

In present time, the types of migration movements on which attention is focus are refugees and displaced persons, illegal migrants and seasonal migrant workers. In particular, the number of refugees - displaced persons¹⁴ who are displaced from their homes but remain within their countries - and asylum-seekers and refugees between states seems to be growing worldwide with their movements taking place regionally in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America ¹⁵. Another group of migrants whose numbers are considered to be rising and concern mainly advanced capitalist countries such as European countries and the USA - as they have more strict regulations for entry, stay and work in their territories - is the so called 'illegal' or 'undocumented' migrants.

According to Portes' ¹⁶ extensive research on illegal migration to the

¹³Stalker P. (1994) *'The work of strangers : a survey of international labour migration.'* Geneva : International Labour Office.

¹⁴Another dimension of contemporary era refugee movements is the environmental one which is related to degradation of soil, deforestation, desertification see Widgren (1990) op. cit. p. 759.

¹⁵see Castles and Miller (1993) op. cit. p. 87.

¹⁶Portes A. (1979) *'Illegal immigration and the international system, lessons from recent*

United States, these illegal flows are a response to the demands and needs of the receiving country, are a displacement of low wage labour and are not necessarily permanent. In fact, as Miller and Papademetriou argue, illegal migration is not a recent phenomenon since that in the early 1970s, a considerable number of illegal residents were estimated to be in most European countries¹⁷. Finally, a group of migrants to which not much attention is paid, are the highly qualified migrants who move across developed capitalist countries. These are professionals or managers and their movement is seen mainly as temporary¹⁸. This type of migration is seen as beneficial compared to the so called 'brain drain' - qualified migrants from less developed to developed countries - which is seen to be a loss for less developed countries¹⁹.

An additional point is that some migration movements are also mediated by international recruitment agencies (e.g. the case of Filipino workers) which arrange the migration of skilled workers across countries according *legal Mexican immigrants to the United States.* 'Social Problems Vol . 26 (4) pp. 425-438, especially p. 426.

¹⁷Miller M. J. and Papademetriou D. G. (1983) '*The US and WE compared*' in Papademetriou D. G. and Miller M. J. (eds) (1983) '*An unavoidable issue: US immigration policy in the 1980s.*' Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues , p. 282.

¹⁸See Gould and Findlay (1990).

¹⁹see also Castles and Miller (1993) op. cit. p. 88.

to economic needs²⁰. Two other important developments, both referring to illegal activities, is an increasing human trade in which migrants or asylum seekers pay smugglers in order to gain entry in European countries²¹, and the phenomenon of the illegal sex trade especially of women and children coming from former communist countries.

In sum, migration flows are seen as one force among other economic, political, and cultural forces which questions and erodes the sovereign power of state in the global era which is characterised by mass communications, technological changes and the globalisation of economic activities which facilitate migration but also change its character. So, the formulation and implementation of migration policies is impelled in order for the state to control migration and entry into its territory. The imposition of controls and the adoption of strict measures on migration are also seen as necessary due the negative impact of previous migration movements on the societies of immigration countries. In these conditions, the migration policies also include specific measures for settlement and incorporation of migrants in the immigration countries.

²⁰W.T.S. Gould and A. M. Finday p. 23 and Ch. 3 and Ch. 5, the first refers to French investments within the UK without transferring French workers to work in the UK sites, while the second, shows that Japanese investments in Canada use some Japanese staff.

²¹Asylum in Europe, UNHCR No. 101 Refugees III (1995) p. 26-27

4.2.2 Migration rules and policies

In the second chapter the focus was on the state's rôle as a sovereign power over certain people in a confined territory and its process to form social relations which are based on two definitions of membership, such as citizenship and nationality, within its territory.

On these grounds, simultaneously, the state defines who is a 'foreigner' and under which conditions foreigners can enter, stay or settle in its territory through the construction of a legal and political framework, namely, control of entry is an essential and necessary element to the establishment of national states. Generally, it can be said that governments formulate rules and policies against 'foreigners' in the terms of controlling their borders despite the fact that the goals of immigration policies, the degree of restrictiveness and the category of migrants on which policies are applied depend on broader social conditions. Therefore, this section focuses on migration policies after the 1970s mainly in advanced capitalist countries. During the 1950s and the 1960s, governments applied migration policies - more or less restrictive - with the attention being given to the achievement of some economic goals within their national territories. However, after the 1970s , more restrictive measures and controls against migrants have been formulated and applied with the aim of stopping the recruitment of for-

eign workers or 'spontaneous' influxes of migrants focusing mainly on new migrants from certain countries. Simultaneously, governments' efforts were directed towards avoiding migration becoming a permanent phenomenon, a fact which did not seem to work in practice - rather it is seen as a factor against the underlying intentions of policies - since migration increases due to family reunification and establishment of migrant networks.

This opposition to new migrants seems to exist more in the European states than in the other 'developed' countries such as the USA, Australia and Canada which are considered as 'immigration nations'. Moreover, the above opposition focuses not on all 'categories' of migrants but on the 'manual workers', asylum-seekers and illegal migrants and not on highly qualified specialists or entrepreneurs since the former categories are perceived as these who seek work for their own selfish reasons to raise their standard of living while the latter are seen as contributing valuable skills and capital to their new country..

The reasons for the restrictions on migration is that migration has been conceived as a 'problem' due to its linkage gradually with undesirable consequences in economic, political, social, cultural and demographic structures. Moreover, it has been seen, that the increase in asylum applications and the illegal migration from outside Europe together with the rise in extreme anti-

immigrant attitudes, intensified longer standing worries about immigration from the 'South' ²². Here then, migration is seen as a 'threat' to political stability, national security and national identity.

Generally, migration policies are presented as being divided into two different kinds, those that refer to entry rules and those that are connected with settlement rules and conditions. The formulation of the former usually seems to be adapted to the conditions which are determined by the implementation of the latter. However, the patterns and the issues which constitute each kind of immigration policies are different in content.

As far as entry rules are concerned, the main issue is 'control' in order to protect not only the 'common good' of natives but also to manage to apply successful policies towards immigrants who have already settled within a territory. Controls are justified on the grounds that there is a certain number of immigrants which each society can 'absorb' within its territory and each state should adopt restrictive measures of entry in order to protect its population from the threat of mass migration. Migration debates are centered on issues such as the justification or not, of an open entry policy for liberal states or on the successful or not successful implementation of restrictive measures or on the protection of human rights. On the other hand,

²²Collinson S. (1993) *'Europe and international migration.'* Pinter Publishers, p. xi.

the debate about settlement policies -which refer to immigrant communities or ethnic communities or minorities or recently diasporas, namely the established immigrants within a territory- concentrates on 'incorporation' issues. In this context, there seems to be a series of issues from citizenship and its association with rights through to cultural diversity and ethnic conflict. The prevailing issue can be said to be the inclusion and exclusion matters in nationalistic and ethnic terms. In general, rules and measures both of entry and settlement are associated with the development of 'racism' within immigration countries, a phenomenon which is seen to penetrate all aspects of social life and manifest itself in the emergence of anti- immigrant political movements and parties.

4.2.3 Entry rules

Owing to the fact that migration is perceived as massive population movements under the new conditions of economic stagnation and cultural differences between national/ethnic groups and cultural integrity, the states' effort to control the influx of migrants in its territory is intensified and includes a series of external controls such as the strict policing of borders, carrier sanctions, tight visa requirements and strict refugee policies. These are based on the categorisation of migrants who enter in their territories

within the broad categories of permanent residents, temporary workers, illegal aliens and refugees²³. In recent years, the focus is on the last three categories since the policies concerning the first category are very strict.

As far as temporary migration is concerned and given the economic, social and demographic disparities between the North and South which seem to create the conditions for 'future mass migrations' on a permanent basis, the economic and social restructuring- which is seen on the internationalisation level - brings the older perception of temporary and flexible migration into force as a fundamental orientation. It is also seen as a need which migration should develop within the viewpoint of the countries which are considered to be attractors of migration. Recent evaluation of previous migration policies has led to the conviction that the liberal practices of states towards migrants have as consequence that they are exploited by migrants or refugees themselves increasing permanent settlement in the emigration countries.

This is the basis for the justification of the adoption of tight controls towards migrants but also asylum-seekers and refugees.

In the case of refugees, in recent years, governments tend to adopt poli-

²³Ryslad G. (1992) *'Immigration history and the future of international migration.'*

IMR Vol. 26 (4) (1992) pp. 1168-1199 especially p. 1168.

cies and administrative means to reduce the numbers of people who can apply for refugee status and/or who can be eligible to be granted refugee status especially in ²⁴ the advanced capitalist countries. Generally, asylum-seekers and refugee movements take place regionally or between neighbouring countries while states exclusively have the right to grant 'asylum' to persons who have a well-founded fear of persecution, that is they are identified as refugees - an official status - according to the United Nations definitions (1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol) ²⁵.

The final category of illegal or undocumented migrants are considered to be those who

(a) enter a country illegally,

(b) enter a country with fraudulent documents (eg. visa or residence permit),

(c) enter a country legally but then stay after the expiry of their docu-

²⁴see Zolberg et al (1989) pp. 279-282 for administrative forms in Europe and the USA.

²⁵For problems derived partly from the inadequacy of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol where there is no clear line between asylum seekers, refugees and other migrants which have resulted in the governments' classification of asylum seekers as 'de-facto refugees', 'political or economic immigrants', 'externally displaced persons', 'mandate refugees', 'shuttle refugees' and 'refugees in orbit' as the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues observed in 1986 see Collinson (1993), p. 21-22.

ments,

(d) ask for asylum but when not granted it stay longer and

(e) enter and stay legally but work without a work permit.

There are no adequate statistics on numbers of illegal migrants but only estimations. However, there is an impression that their numbers are increasing since the restrictive policies of states reduce entries of legal migrants while economic and demographic differences increase migration across states (push-pull factors' logic).

4.2.4 Questions about sovereignty of the state in the migration process.

These migration policies have posed some questions about the erosion of sovereignty of the state or the governments' inability to control migration in the migration debate. A further point is relevant before exploring these questions; the migration movements selected for analysis are not the only migration movements across states nor are 'developed' countries the only ones which try to regulate and control the entry of migrants. Simply, the debate concentrates on particular movements and particular countries selectively in the international migration context. Research on migration pays

attention to those aspects of national immigration policies which relate to the effectiveness of the chosen immigration goals such as managing legal immigration on a temporary basis, and discouraging permanent immigration, stopping illegal immigration and managing asylum-seekers. Irrespective of the reasons for the legitimation of posing immigration controls, there seems to be a convergence amongst countries to tighten controls towards immigrants²⁶.

Generally speaking, the process of migration is conceived as being determined by opposing needs and goals between economic and political concepts, between states and migrants and between national and international contexts. In this sense, the assumptions of the failure of the intentions of immigration control measures, namely the undesired outcomes of immigration control policies, are based on the grounds of, 'the competing interests in pluralistic societies and rights-based politics'²⁷ and a series of historical reasons 'marked the beginning of the contemporary international population system, characterised by the contradiction still exhibited today between a generalised commitment to freedom of exit and severe restrictions on entry'²⁸. In this context and bearing in mind that each state has to pass on

²⁶see Cornilius W.A. et al (1992) '*Controlling migration*' (convergence hypothesis) p. 3.

²⁷ibid. p. 10.

²⁸Zolberg A.(1989) *op. cit.* p. 323.

economic difficulties to other states in order to assume the economic well-being of the population²⁹, the moments of liberal migration policy which included the recruitment of foreign labour after the Second World War appear to be short-lived. Furthermore, it is assumed that there is a process of removing barriers and controls on population movements regionally, which simultaneously means a possible alteration of the construction of the international system on the grounds of sovereign states.

A second element which is also associated with the state sovereignty is rights in general and human rights in particular. The aspect of rights, which are relevant at this stage, do not refer to rights inside a territory to ethnic minorities, immigrant communities or foreigners which can be addressed by the individual according to status or attributes of people inside a territory granted to ethnic minorities. Rather these rights are referred to as those 'which have universal relevance irrespective of the socio-cultural context' as Bretherton points out^{30,31}. Another relevant question is if these rights should be restricted to some basic political and civil rights or whether they

²⁹op. cit. pp. 319-320.

³⁰Bretherton C. (1996) '*Universal Human Rights; Bringing People into Global Politics.*' in Bretherton C. and Ponton G. (eds) (1996) '*Global politics: an introduction.*' Oxford: Blackwell, p. 246.

³¹Bretherton focuses on the controversies surrounding human rights which fall into three broad areas a) the scope of rights b) the content of rights and c) the protection of rights

should include rights referring to an inadequate standard of living. In this field of universal rights a series of controversies and debates have been developed internationally. These rights are also concerned with asylum-seekers and 'illegal' or 'undocumented' or 'unauthorised' migrants. In 1990, the General Assembly adopted the 'International Convention of the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families' which includes protective provisions for undocumented migrant workers and members of their families ³². As there is not an agreement about universality and the consequent limited international rights regime, states are able to formulate their immigration policies on exclusionary grounds and thus able to define who is or is not a refugee, according to their national interests. However, the existence of human rights conventions, the reality of 'undocumented migrants' and the growing influence of international organisations can be seen as presenting a challenge to state sovereignty.

First, the debates concentrate mainly on issues which are associated with conflicting relationships between individual rights and community rights or on states' obligation towards their national communities. They focus on

³²Bosniac L.S. (1991) '*Human rights, state sovereignty and the protection of undocumented migrants under the international migrant workers convention.*' IMR Vol. 25 (4) pp. 737-770.

questions about the priority of the latter over the former or vice versa³³.

Second, questions are raised about the relative nature of states' sovereign power due to the establishment and function within national territory of international organisations. Governmental and non-governmental organisations are seen as reducing the exclusive sovereign power of the state since they monitor states' protection or violation of human rights. Some can also provide protection to non-members such as undocumented migrants within a territory even though they cannot force the state itself to act according to universal norms³⁴.

In sum, as Gandara argues:

'the dilemma presented is a choice of obedience to these aspects of international convention which respect the sovereign right of the state to maintain public order for the general welfare or disobedience of those aspects and assertion of economic and social human rights. From this perspective, migration of undocumented workers is a phenomenon of international civil disobedience. In this context, the pursuit of work, a human right, justifies

³³For the protection of rights see: Bretherton (1991).

³⁴For the UN machinery and its power to generate universal norms and non-governmental organisations (mainly Amnesty International) to monitor and publish reviews about violation of human rights see *ibid* 263-268.

transgression'³⁵

4.2.5 Incorporation policies.

The second part on immigration policy refers to the ways that each state admits foreigners within its territory. Not only can states define who is going to be admitted as immigrants but also it is recognised - under the division of international territory between national states- that citizens and noncitizens cannot have the same rights, namely, the states can discriminate between citizens and non-citizens³⁶. Consequently, states have the right to decide about the criteria on which a migrant or a foreigner can become a citizen. The above aspect of immigration policy seems to be somehow associated with the 'consequences' of immigration, namely immigrants' settlement in the new country.

Therefore, the starting point for the study of immigration consequences is that immigrants' settlement brings about a series of changes in the immigration country. These changes are studied in terms of modes of incorporation, namely the policies which states have adopted in order to incorporate immigrants into their societies.

The modes of incorporation are associated with the notion of citizenship

³⁵Landmann R. S. *'The problem of the undocumented worker.'* (unpublished) p. 79.

³⁶Weiner(1995).

and generally with each country's political culture and history³⁷, or with different historical patterns of nation state formation³⁸. In fact, the first attempts to analyse the consequences of immigration in the countries of destination appeared in so-called immigrant countries and particularly in the USA. The first studies were connected with the Chicago School of Sociology and its theory of assimilation³⁹. The focus was on immigrants and the

‘assimilation would be the eventual outcome of a cycle of immigrant/host society patterns of interaction moving from contact to competition and conflict to accommodation and finally to assimilation’⁴⁰.

In other words, assimilation meant the complete integration of immigrants into a society and of their acceptance by the ‘host’ society⁴¹.

After the Second World War, with undocumented immigration to the USA and labour migration in European countries, the focus of immigrants’

³⁷Weiner, R. op. cit. p. 93

³⁸Castles, S. *New Community* 21 No. 3 (1995) p. 293.

³⁹Schmitter-Heisler D. (1992) *‘The future of immigrant incorporation: Which Models? Which Concepts?’* IMR Vol. 26 (2) pp. 623-664.

⁴⁰ibid, p. 626, This is also the model used by S. Patterson in her study of ‘Dark Strangers’ (West Indians) in Brixton, Patterson S. (1965) *‘Dark strangers : a study of West Indians in London.’* Harmondsworth : Penguin Books.

⁴¹Ventoura L. (1995) *‘Migration and Nation.’* (in Greek) Athens: Themelio p. 17-18.

incorporation research was on 'inequality and competition in the labour market, which is typically divided into primary and secondary' sectors⁴², while today, the perspective of migrants' incorporation concentrates on social-cultural issues and the so-called multi-culturalism or ethnic pluralism. According to Schmitter-Heisler multi-culturalism remains at the ideological level as a desirable goal for complex societies consisting of different ethnic and religious groups⁴³.

Models of migrants incorporation from the viewpoint of states, as a part of actual immigration policies, are elaborated by Castles⁴⁴. He classifies the modes of incorporation into three kinds: differential exclusion, assimilation (including integration) and pluralism (including multi-culturalism) and then he explains this adoption of different strategies on the part of states on the grounds of different historical formations of nation states. The above concise presentation of the modes of incorporation refers to migration literature and theoretical elaborations which have been only indirectly influenced by immigration policies which each state has adopted towards immigrants.

Generally, it can be said that the central concept which immigration policy construction is based on, is that of citizenship and the consequent rights.

⁴²Schmitter-Heisler (1992) pp. 625-629 'enclose theories'

⁴³ibid. p. 633.

⁴⁴Castles (1995).

Citizenship and citizen's rights are fundamentally crucial for the definition of full membership and inclusion in a society. Simultaneously, citizenship not only defines the conditions of membership and participation in a society but also the conditions of exclusion. Moreover, typically, the state has the sole power to define the requirements under which citizenship can be granted. In this context, there are two dimensions to the acquisition of citizenship. The first one refers to an automatic acquisition of citizenship and this is based generally on birth, either on place of birth (*jus soli*) or descent (*jus sanguinis*), and the second one refers to the conditions under which a person without the above two attributes can acquire citizenship, that is the so called 'naturalization conditions'. The territorial requirement for acquisition of citizenship also reveals the relation of citizenship with nationality. Depending, on each national state's particular contexts and historical background, citizenship is directly or indirectly identified by nationality⁴⁵. The direct and indirect relationship between nationality and citizenship, historically seems to depend on immigration as a major issue in the process of constructing a national identity. For that reason, states such as the USA, Canada, and Australia are seen as more inclusive as far as the admission and

⁴⁵Smith D. M. and Black M. (1995) '*Some comparative aspects of ethnicity and citizenship in the European Union.*' in Martiniello M. (ed) (1995) '*Migration, citizenship and ethno-national identities in the EU.*' Avebury: Aldershot.

settlement of new arrivals are concerned permitting easier access to citizens' rights than states in Europe and Japan, namely the so-called homogeneous nation-states. The above aspect of immigration policy, which is related to citizenship is linked to policies which refer to the protection of rights of immigrants and generally the 'treatment of 'ethnic minorities' established in the country over a period of time'⁴⁶.

The construction of immigration policies and the issues related to citizenship are characterised by the attribution of citizenship to individuals according to political and legal prerequisites; on the contrary it seems that nationality or ethnicity is seen more or less as a natural characteristic attributed by birth. Since these membership status are both seen as interconnected, the process of migration within a national territory poses challenges and new questions for both citizenship and nationality in the construction of policies. In this process a series of elements have been revealed and included in the immigration debate.

The fundamental issue is the inequality, discrimination and subordination of particular social groups - in this case, groups of migrants or 'racial' or 'ethnic' minorities - in a society. Around this basic issue, ideas and practices

⁴⁶Fontaine L. (1995) *'Immigration and citizenship in Canada and Belgium: Is the Canadian model of citizenship useful in the EU?'* in Martiniello M. (ed) (1995) *'Migration citizenship and ethno-national identities in the EU.'* Aldershot: Avebury, p. 95

related to racism, sexism and nationalism emerge as problematic constructions. These constructions take different forms in time, that question not only the limits or the reverse results of the adoption of a series of policies related to migration, such as anti-discrimination policies, equal opportunities policies or multi-pluralistic policies but also question the social groups' perspectives, demands and the content of their struggles such as anti-racism, cultural and ethnic identity and womens' identity.

The formulation and implementation of a series of immigration policies towards the protection of migrants' rights or ethnic minority rights, reveals that there exists a gap between a typical and substantial acquisition of rights and more generally, the legal and political interventions which have not resulted in achieving the initial stated goals such as the establishment of equal opportunities for migrants or minorities and the elimination of discrimination or generally improving ethnic minorities' position in society ⁴⁷.

The recent debates on migration focus on 'culture and difference' or on the 'diaspora' as new elements of identification of social groups such as migrants or ethnic minorities. Policies which are based on issues such as multiculturalism which assumed to enable migrants or minorities to maintain

⁴⁷Layton-Henry, Z. (ed) (1990) *'The political rights of migrant workers in Western Europe.'* London: Sage.

their identity but at the same time seem to lead to the division between migrants of minorities and nationals or majorities.

Moreover as Anthias points out⁴⁸:

‘although the plural and multi-faceted nature of racism has been identified⁴⁹ much contemporary debate has tended to be concerned with group identification and culture ... while racial disadvantage, economic inequalities and the class-related forms of subordination have been put, unfortunately, on the back burner’.

4.2.6 A focus on the concept ‘international’

After the presentation of the theoretical debates and the actual migration policies, the context of international migration and the development of immigration policy seems to focus on the sovereignty of states. Each one of which has the exclusive right to control its territory and impose regulations and grant rights to citizens and non-citizens. Furthermore, the movement of people from one state to another is considered to define the concept of ‘international migration’ and also relates this right of states with the rights of

⁴⁸Anthias F. (1997) ‘*Anti-racism, multi-culturalism and struggles for a multi-cultural democracy.*’ in ‘*European Citizenship and the Social Exclusion.*’ in Rocke, M. and van Berkel R. (ed) Ashgate Aldershot 1997 p. 250.

⁴⁹Cohen R. quoted in Anthias (1997).

individuals and groups as potential migrants and as immigrants Therefore, in order to understand concrete international movements of people in connection with state regulations and policies, an examination of the meaning of international should be made.

Generally, there are two broad perspectives in the analysis of 'international'. The first perspective starts from the existence of sovereign states as independent entities which develop relations with one another. Sovereign states are considered to be selfish rational actors which overcome their self-interests and cooperate with each other establishing the so called 'international regimes' (realism and neo-realism)⁵⁰ while the criterion for the establishment of relations is based on the cost benefit consideration of each state. In these terms, the international system is viewed as the sum of self-interested independent states.

The second perspective's initial point is the unitary character of the world, giving priority to the world system over particular states. One version of this perspective is related to dependency theory which focuses on the

⁵⁰Zolberg A. R. (1992) *'Labour Migration and International Economic Regimes: Bretton Woods and after.'* in Kritz M. M. (ed) (1992) *'Global Trends in Migration: theory and research on international population.'* Staten Island, New York: Center for Migration Studies (new edition), p. 316 and Axford B. (1995) *'The global system. Economics, Politics and Culture.'* Polity Press, p.36.

uneven economic development of the world as a structural feature of the global economy which divides states into 'central' and 'peripheral' ones, based on the assumption that under developed or peripheral countries by themselves are capable of achieving a similar stage of development as central states. Although the world system seems to have a prime rôle in analysis, this version emphasizes inter-state relations on the grounds of dominance and exploitation of peripheral states by the central ones⁵¹.

Another version connected with the world system analysis, is the one in which the function of states is to

'act as forms of protection for national class interests and their relative economic strength determines the placement of states within world zones' ⁵².

In this version the capitalist world economy is characterised by the structural division of nation states into core, semiperiphery and periphery whose competition is the power motive which keeps the system going⁵³.

According to the first perspective, the movements of people across states

⁵¹Holloway (1994) op. cit. pp. 23-49.

⁵²B. Axford, op. cit. , p. 57

⁵³Wallerstein quoted in Dale R. (1990) '*Nation state and international system: The world system perspective.*' in McLennan, G., Held, D. and Hall, S. (eds) (1990) '*The idea of the modern state.*' Buckingham: Open University Press.

are understood in the context of the anarchy⁵⁴ which prevails in the case of international migration and only states can organise the flow of migrants in their territories and formulate immigration policies according to their self-interests. Under the context of the second perspective, first uneven economic development and the division of states into core and periphery are the determinants of international migration with the states in the core having the dominant role. An example is provided by the Second World War labour migration within Europe and the bipolar relations between states in the core and periphery, for example Germany and France at the core with Spain and Greece at the periphery. Second, owing to the fact that the world is an entire system, due to the logic of the international capitalist system, international migration can be seen as contributing to the needs of capitalism while the states act as forms of protection for national class interests through political action.

Generally, these perspectives seem not to be adequate in order to understand the relationship between the international system and national states, either in the context of realism which takes for granted the state as a sovereign power which can act on the basis of 'national interest'⁵⁵ or in

⁵⁴Anarchy in the sense that there is neither any power beyond the nation state, nor a code of conduct, see Zolberg (1992) op. cit. p. 316

⁵⁵For a critique see Burnham P. (1993) *'Marxism, neorealism and international rela-*

the context of the core-periphery (and semi-periphery) model which cannot explain the dynamic nature of this relationship, outside of nationalistic economic interests.

Instead, an analysis of the relationship between the international system and national states and the consequent migration has to be based on the 'dialectical categories of process and contradictory internal relationship'⁵⁶ Burnham points out that 'dialectical research starts with the whole and then searches for the substantive abstraction which constitutes social phenomena as interconnected, complex forms different from, but united with each other'. As mentioned in previous chapters, this abstraction is the concept of 'form' which is the key element in order for 'all social phenomena' to be understood and analysed as differentiated and interconnected parts of the social totality. Adopting this methodological perspective, it is possible to explore the relationship between the concepts of 'national' and 'international' in order to comprehend migration which consider to be a *par excellence* international phenomenon. In these terms, a further examination of the relationship between the political, national states and international system, mainly through Holloway's work, is considered as necessary⁵⁷.

tions.' *Common Sense* 14 pp. 22-31.

⁵⁶See Burnham (1995) p. 96.

⁵⁷Holloway (1991) p. 30.

First of all, the understanding of 'the state' as 'the political' suggests that the latter is 'a moment of totality of capitalist social relations' -the historical emergence of capitalism which the second chapter focuses on - and 'as such is a moment of a global relation' which 'capital, by its nature, knows no spatial bounds'. Moreover, this means that the state or the political, exists as a particular (different than economic) or rigidified form of social relations. Therefore, on the one hand, political as a moment of totality is a part of the antagonistic development of capitalist society and on the other hand, political as a particular form, the relation between the state and the reproduction of capital, is more complex than deterministic, instrumental or functionalist explanations about their relations. In sum, the state as a

'rigidified form of social relations is, at the same, time a process of rigidifying social relations, and it is through this process that the state is constantly reconstituted as an instance separate from society' ⁵⁸.

So far, the concept of the 'state' or the 'political' as a rigidified form of social relations is, in a sense, the abstraction of the capitalist state as the social relations that emerged historically. As the exploration moves towards the concrete, it is evident that there are multiple national states and not

⁵⁸Holloway (1993) *op. cit.* p. 29.

only one state owing to historical reasons, and the ways the social relations changed from feudalism to capitalism. However, this does not mean that the economic and political are distinct or independent social relations but rather they constitute the totality of capitalist social relations.

Historically, the capitalist relation of exploitation and coercion was expressed in a contrasting movement. In other words, the economic and political are united and constitute the global nature of capitalist social relations but the difference is that the former relation is free from spatial constraint while the latter is expressed through the autonomous, territorially distinct national states ⁵⁹. Thus, following this perspective, the world is not seen as the sum of national states since the 'fractured existence of the political as national states decomposes the world into so many, apparently autonomous units' ⁶⁰.

At this stage, it is necessary to move from 'the state' or 'the political' to national states and the formers' fragmentation into the latter as 'an abstract sovereignty of public authority over a defined territory'⁶¹. According to Burnham, this was a result of the development of the capitalist international system since it permitted and facilitated the global circulation of

⁵⁹ibid. p. 31.

⁶⁰ibid.

⁶¹Burnham (1995) op. cit. p. 103.

commodities and capital. Moreover, he argues that national states are best theorised as differentiated forms of global capitalist relations which means that states have to achieve both the mobility of capital - providing domestically an appropriate political infrastructure and the continuation of the expansion of capital establishing some institutional basis in order to secure international property rights. In this sense, 'each state is trapped in the dilemma, on the one hand to participate in multilateral agreements in order to enhance the accumulation of capital globally, and on the other hand to have negative consequences in domestic or national state strategies to attract capital into its territory in order to gain power'⁶². Therefore, interstate relations are based simultaneously on conflict - to pass to each other negative consequences of the tension between national and global tension - and on collaboration - to pursue the expansion of capital.

Two more points which are made by Holloway are related to interstate relations from the global perspective. First, the

'decomposition of global society into national states is not accomplished once national boundaries are set; on the contrary, all national states are engaged in a constantly repeated process of decomposing global social relations' ⁶³

⁶²ibid. p. 105.

⁶³Holloway (1993) op. cit. p. 32.

in order to continue domination of capital. Second,

‘if capitalist social relations are inherently global, then each national state is a moment of global society, a territorial fragmentation of a society which extends throughout the world.’

But also they are distinct and non-identical moments of the social relation due to the fact that each state has a specific relation with people within its territory ⁶⁴.

4.2.7 Migration in Global Capitalist Relations.

The presentation of the analysis, made by J. Holloway and P. Burnham, is a useful perspective in order to understand migration as an inherently international social phenomenon. This perspective can shed light on the movements of people across ‘autonomous’ territories in the international society and also to the development of immigration policies by the state. Moreover, it can reveal the complex and multifacet aspects of immigration as well as the changing nature of migration itself.

Thus, first of all, international migration is not seen as movements of people originated by either economic or political causes or by both causes depending on specific circumstances. Moreover, it is not seen as an external

⁶⁴ibid. pp. 32-33.

phenomenon in the inter-state system which is caused by uneven economic development or by the economic needs of the market, that is, in economic logic. Neither is migration primarily conceived as the result of economic or political policies designed to cover economic needs or to protect their citizens and their well being. On the contrary, the political and economic domains, as forms of global social relations, are united even though they are presented as distinct and independent forms of social relations. The starting point is the global social whole, meaning the organisation of existing relations and their forms within a global system. This theoretical framework permits viewing economic and political relations in a wider perspective than in restricted national terms, with migration as a part of these broader relations; while the global character of the market is not seen as a recent phenomenon which makes the state struggle in order to maintain its national sovereignty.

Under this perspective, migration is a process of a form of social relation which is based on global and national tensions in terms of conflicting and collaborating interstate relations⁶⁵. The exploitation of labour by capital is global but the existence of national states decomposes global social rela-

⁶⁵As mentioned earlier, national states struggle with each other to attract and retain capital within their territories and to ensure favourable conditions for the reproduction within their territories giving also an international support to capital operating within its boundary.

tions into non-class forms, so that this exploitation is disguised by national competition and the international labour is divided ⁶⁶. This is because of the historical fact that exploitation conditions are standardised nationally. Within its boundaries, each national state 'as an active process of forming social relations', ⁶⁷ constantly channels social struggles into non-class forms in order to promote the disorganisation of labour and reproduce the existing forms of social relations.

4.2.8 The concept of division of labour and migration.

Since this study sees migration as a part of capital relations which means that migration is shaped by capital accumulation and nation state building, it is necessary to refer to the concept of the division of labour⁶⁸ in order to study in general terms, the interrelation of migration with other forms of social relations on the basis of mutual dependence and also the ways in which the division of labour determines and is determined by migration. That is, also, to understand national states' decomposition of global social relations and also the disorganisation of labour.

⁶⁶See Burnham (1993) op. cit. p. 29.

⁶⁷ibid, p. 29.

⁶⁸This concept is a way to see society as a totality of relations and at the same time, to see their historical fragmentation into different and independent aspects. For an exploration of these issues see Agelides M. (1998).

Cohen mentions in his critique of the new international division of labour theory⁶⁹, that there are ambiguities in the expression of the division of labour, since this concept refers to different meanings such as sectoral divisions in the economic, occupational and skill structure of the labour force, and the organisation of tasks. However, this study refers to the division of labour in general, and not in sociological terms. This means, that the division of labour refers to the capitalist organisation of the following elements: 'production, property relations, modes of dependence of labour and typical forms of the division of labour between the economic and political. It also refers to the question of the historical separation instituted by these relations - a question raised by social labour'⁷⁰. Thus, through this definition of the division of labour it is possible to see how migration expresses the labour - capital struggles, on both a national and global level.

Each national state attempts to arrange social conflicts, which arise from the basic contradiction of capital and the fragmentation of the political⁷¹. These conflicts are posed as social demands for a broader social reproduction. Each national state also attempts to arrange similar demands which emanate

⁶⁹Cohen R. (1987) *'The new international division of labour: A conceptual, historical and empirical critique.'* Migration Vol. 1 pp. 21-45, especially p. 27.

⁷⁰Psychopedis (1991) op. cit. p.35.

⁷¹Capital's ability to impose work in ever greater degrees of intensity, through the commodity form, Burnham (1995) op. cit. p. 104.

from global political and economic construction of the international system.

In this context, migration composes as aspects, all the above contradictions, conflicts and arrangements. Also these forms are unfolding through the migration process.

In this framework, it can be argued that migration is seen in mutual dependence with these economic and political forms of social relations and that migration reconstructs the national division of labour bringing within national territories, the elements of international division of labour and national global relations. Moreover, in the constantly repeated process of decomposing global social relations by the form of the national states, other subordinations and inequalities have been an integral part and expressed within the form of state in order to rationalise forms of social relations as autonomous and different. These subordinations and oppressions such as race, gender, and nation in their capitalist specific forms are aspects which are included and exist in migration and they are developed through migration. Thus, migration is simultaneously a precondition and result⁷² of these

⁷²According to Ollman a large abstraction of precondition and result of what all is included, is p.e. capital and wage labour. In migration it can also be seen a precondition and result of one another, 'nationals' and 'foreigners'; each one includes the other in their common developments but also they are distinct from each other (Ollman op. cit. pp. 134-135).

other forms of social relations. All these forms, including migration, are in mutual interaction and in their processes they become both effects and makers of each other's effect. For example, migration as a form of social relation includes simultaneously aspects of the global character of capital, the separation of the political from the economy, the national states, the division in the public and private spheres, racism, sexism, the nationalist and ethnic exclusions etc which constitute migration as it exists. All these forms constitute the capitalist social relations and at the

same time, all these forms are simultaneously the results of capitalist social relations' preconditions⁷³.

4.2.9 The national struggle within a global context.

Analysing migration as an internal and inherent phenomenon in capitalism, means that it is an internal part in capital's ability to impose the work in the commodity form through the separation of state from civil society and the fragmentation of the political into national states⁷⁴. Consequently,

⁷³However, it is worth noting that in the analysis of migration, some aspects can be more crucial and significant than others depending on the specific context, but it is important not to lose sight of the other elements which are included as potential aspects of migration as it appears and functions.

⁷⁴see Burnham (1995) op. cit. p. 103.

migration expresses the establishment of the historical separation between nationals and non-nationals, we and others, citizens and foreigners. This fragmentation has been confirmed and reconfirmed through migration in the process of reproduction of social relations.

In this context, each national state has a specific relation to people within its territory some of whom it defines as 'citizens', the rest as 'foreigners'. In this point of view, the whole organisation of society is fragmented into different social forms, called economic, political, cultural; into a series of general and distinct rights which define the membership in a community and the relations between 'citizens' and 'foreigners', who are not equal. Moreover, this membership is based on the assertion of national sovereignty and 'national identity', through the ideology of nationalism. Thus, the existence of national states automatically gives social importance to migration as a form of social relations between citizens or nationals and non-citizens or foreigners and also channels or defines the movements of people globally into political, economic and social and cultural relations as distinct from neutral social relations. Therefore, the reflection of migration of the national states' fragmentation is a way to the imposition of constraints related to labour, on migration, the separation between political and economic migration and the almost free migration of capital itself.

In this sense, migration is also characterised by the national-global tension between national states. The national-global tension and its process of the forms of capital social relations includes the movement of people as an integral part and involves all national states in the process of migration either as countries of immigration or emigration or both immigration and emigration. All countries experience some immigration or emigration but in economic terms some are predominantly sending countries (labour exporters) while others are predominantly receiving countries (labour importers). Due to the acquisition of rights as a political form of social relations, the right of exit is recognised in each national state while the right of entry into a national territory is not an individual right but a right determined by each national state ⁷⁵. Of course, the right of property, connected with one of the forms of capital qualifies the 'individual in possession' with almost free entry into a national territory. According to these conditions, the right of property, connected with labour can also qualify individuals who possess it with the right of entry into a national territory, but this has been an exceptional case. Additionally, different power relations between states in the international state system creates the basis on which migration is perceived

⁷⁵It can be said that the political conflicts within a national territory and external intervention can create refugees or asylum seekers, a fact which forces the states to sort this out with migration policies.

as far as both the direction of movements of people and the formulation of immigration policies are concerned.

It is crucial to underline that migration cannot be defined merely as a movement of people, namely when some people exit one national state and then enter into another⁷⁶ but migration as a social relation has been defined by global class relations and the national fragmentation of the political form of capitalist social relations. From this point of view, it can be said that potential migrants are those people who are not included in the national arrangements and re-arrangements through which each state attempts to impose favourable conditions for attracting and retaining capital in its territory. These conditions, depend on the international context, but they are bound to be reflected and expressed in national territories since the fragmentation of the capitalist state into national states. In this sense, all national states potentially participate in the migration process, even though there appears to be a permanent specialisation between national states.

⁷⁶Lazos G. (1997) *'The foreign prostitute in modern Greece.'* (in Greek) in Dimitriou S. (ed) (1997) *'Forms of social exclusion and mechanisms for producing it.'* Athens: Ideokinisi, pp. 79-80.

4.2.10 From the migration point of view.

In the definition of the division of labour, the formal and the material aspects are included, that is not only the specific form of exploitation of the social reproduction in capitalism but also the social division of labour and the social cooperation and solidarity between humans and not relations between things. Thus, this division of labour includes two antithetical but simultaneous processes. Adopting this dialectical point of view, migration is understood, on the one hand, from the formal side of social reproduction in capitalism, namely migration as 'capital' or 'labour' according to the needs of capital nationally or globally. On the other hand, migration is understood as a struggle against capital relation and its rigidified forms.

Cleaver's argument about social groups includes migration in social struggles⁷⁷. His analysis criticises the view of a passive and reactive working class, a view which focuses exclusively on the economic sphere, excluding all other social groups and struggles. He develops his argument on the basis of working class autonomy and he perceives the relation between capital and the working class as the class relation itself not as an outside and independent force. According to him, the reproduction of the working class is not

⁷⁷Cleaver H. (1979) *'Reading capital politically.'* Sussex: The Harvester Press, especially the Introduction.

restricted within some industrial sectors or only to paid work but includes capitalist society as a whole. This means that class struggle and particularly working class struggle refers to the number of struggles involving students, women, the unemployed, ethnic and racial struggles in Europe and the US as well as those of peasants in the Third World ⁷⁸. This is due to the meaning of accumulation which includes the 'accumulation of the reserve army as well as the active army' and the 'key role of the wage in hiding not only the unpaid part of the working day but also unpaid work outside it. In this way, his theory not only incorporates unwaged groups which appear to be outside the working class such as women, students, and peasants but also permits the development of the autonomous struggles of migrants into self-conscious organised political groups.

Bearing in mind the incorporation of the working class as autonomous into the theory of capitalist development, 'the division of labour (skilled worker, migrants, women) can be seen not only as a hierarchical division of power to weaken the class- a certain composition of power- but also, against the capitalist use of technology and planning. The working class is seen to struggle against these divisions, politically decomposing the power relations in its interests. This is a good example of the case of labour migration, that

⁷⁸ibid. pp. 57-59.

in certain European countries in the 1950s and 60s, the general tendency of capital to incorporate the migrants within itself as simply labour power nationally, yet the migrants struggles to affirm themselves as an independent force against capital's self-reproduction is more than obvious. Under this perspective, migration can not be seen as a phenomenon which can merely be manipulated from the part of the capital since it is a form of social relations which also includes capital relation. This means that capital relation can be seen from labour point of view, the working class is a part of and also 'the only unplanned element of capital' as Cleaver argues ⁷⁹.

This analysis sheds light on capitalist crises as crises of power between social classes, since attempts by labour to emancipate itself from capital relations imposes crises on capital and also capital tries to turn the crisis against labour to restore its control. However, class struggle is not an 'independent outside cause of the categories and relations. Nor is it an exterior, derived consequence of them. Capital is a class relation and that relation is one of struggle' ⁸⁰.

Therefore, the social context in which migration is becoming, is characterised by the national constitution of states and the global character of accumulation. Migration is a form of capitalist social relations and simulta-

⁷⁹ibid. p. 53.

⁸⁰ibid. p. 65.

neously a part of the class struggle since migration can be also seen - from the vantage points of labour and foreigner or non citizen or non national or gender or capital - as attempts to develop its autonomous interests as they emerge through historical moments of social relations in specific terms and not generally as interests of the working class - against the capital class's attempt to impose its social order (including different categories of migration, refugees, migrants, professionals, women migration, student migration) both globally and nationally.

4.3 Migration policies and flows as different moments of the same process in the international context.

In order to examine particular migration policies,immigration rules and flows, the first question is on what basis are these rules and policies related to particular flows? As explored earlier, the relationship between migration policies and flows is mainly perceived as reactive. Each government constructs policies in response to the numbers or volume of migration and the volume of migration depends on the adoption of rules and policies by states. Therefore, policies and flows are seen as independent and external and as

being based on different causes and effects, even though in the end they are seen as related.

In order to transcend the reactive explanation between migration flows and policies and the independence of each state in international relations, it is necessary to connect these policies and flows with the international context, as it was elaborated in the previous section of this chapter. In this context, migration policies are a part of the specific form of the state, where the latter is a mode of existence of the presence of labour within capital or of class antagonism; that means the state is a different form but united with the form of the world market, with the latter constituting, according to Marx⁸¹

‘the place in which production is posited as a totality together with all its moments, but within which at the same time, all contradictions come into play.’

So, the state mediates class antagonisms and reconciles their contradictions. However, the state is not able to solve these contradictions since it mediates exploitation, in and through, the guarantee of formal freedom and the formal equality of property rights⁸².

⁸¹Bonefeld (1992) op. cit. p. 112.

⁸²ibid. p. 116.

Migration policies and rules can be explained as state action to standardise exploitation. in and through, non-class forms of social relations such as citizen rights, human rights. This is a strategy to disorganise labour⁸³ and simultaneously to manage social struggles including migration struggles which develop in the world market, but they exist, in and through, nationally confined territories due to the peculiarity of concrete historical developments.

Under this perspective, migration movements can be seen as a moment of social struggles, of the global capital relations, and the state has to act taking into account both national and international contexts. Due to the fact that social struggles are contained in the form of the state it is not possible to give deterministic explanations between migration policies and flows or to explain them in reactive terms. They are not influenced by demographic, economic, social, political and cultural causes, but all these factors constitute forms - processes - in global social relations existing in and through the national state. In this sense, each national state as a form of the fragmented global social relations and a process of forming social relations in a specific social context, through formal categories has simultaneously taken into consideration both national and international class relations or

⁸³Burnham (1993) op. cit. pp. 22-31

the ways that class relations are reproduced and changed, in and through, the other national states.

Moreover, the relations of conflict and collaboration between national states, means that each state has to establish rules related to people within its territory and also related to people outside its territory in order to manage to protect its own power and position in the global social relations. On this basis, the state develops not only a political and legal structure in order to establish the individual and the citizen but also develops rules which refer to entry and settlement in its territory. The latter rules are seen to concern foreigners or immigrants as juxtapository categories to nationals or citizens, which are changing depending on both national and international conditions. In this context, state has to negotiate both with its nationals and citizens and simultaneously, with foreigners who are within its territory. It can be said that state takes also account of potential foreigners in its territory.

4.3.1 An example of migration in national global relations

An example of interrelation of national global relations through state policies of migration which shows the rôle of the state to impose work on the commodity form nationally and internationally, but also contains the social struggle element, is the labour migration in the European countries after

the Second World War.

In order to understand labour migration into the European state after the Second World War but also in the present period, it is necessary to recognise to capital as class relation and the different forms capital can have. On the one hand, as Holloway argues 'the capital is the history of a constant flight of the inadequacy of existing relations of exploitation, from the inadequacy of its own domination of the power of labour on which it depends' ⁸⁴. On the other hand, the working class struggle is not only aimed to gaining some benefits for itself, but mainly to escape from the exploitation and domination of capital, more precisely in a long run. As far as the capital's flight is concerned (and its different forms) that exists all the time but 'acquires a particular intensity in times of crisis' ⁸⁵. The different functional forms of capital and money, productive and commodity capital which are related with different spatial mobility.

After the Second World War, the prevalence of the productive capital and its relative stability led to a focus of the analysis on the national states' politics and a view of the world as composed of 'national economies'. During this period, the rôle of the national states is dominant in the regulation of economic relations between them, and these relations are perceived as

⁸⁴Holloway (1993) op. cit. p. 37

⁸⁵ibid. p. 37

inter-national agreements and as creation of alliances between them and bureaucratised labour movements ⁸⁶.

Due to the fact that the productive capital is at the least spatially immobile, and the state's rôle to attract and immobilise the capital within its boundary, the foreign labour migration was a part of national state policies to organise the relations of exploitation in its territory in order for capital to remain within its boundaries. However, at the same time, it was a collaboration among national states in order to organise the global relations of exploitation since the Second World War had disorganised the class-relations internationally which appeared partly in the form of the struggles for independence in some national states or partly in the form of division of the world in two 'main political' parts. In these terms, not only the labour migration in Europe but also the insulated national states were not permanent or stable social phenomena.

Since the 1970s, the prevailing form of capital has been the financial capital which moves in order to find profit, namely to establish more adequate relations of exploitation. In these terms the 'change in the form of the global existence of capital' ⁸⁷, can be seen as capital's attempts to 'decompose working class unity by restructuring the class technologically and

⁸⁶ibid. p. 38-39

⁸⁷ibid. p. 41

geographically'⁸⁸ in order to achieve the reorganisation of the relations of exploitation. Following Burnham's argument ⁸⁹ that the state meets the interests of capital in general by enforcing the discipline of the market through the rule of the law and the rule of money - which are the mediated forms in which the rule of the capitalist market is imposed on the working class and all particular capital the state formulates different policies in order to remove barriers to accumulation nationally and internationally but it cannot solve the crisis which is inherent characteristic of the class relations.

In sum, it can be said that in the period of the international crisis since the 1970s, migration has been included in national strategy in a different form of social relations, from the immediate period after the Second World War in Europe to the present time. The previous form had been the migration of labour which is abolished partly from the struggle of migrants themselves since migrants refused to be incorporated in the society as merely labour power and partly from the part of the state policies in the process of the reorganisation of class relations.

Therefore, that means firstly, as Cohen rightly argues⁹⁰ that labour mi-

⁸⁸Cleaver (1979) op. cit. p. 63

⁸⁹Burnham P. (1990) *'The political economy of postwar reconstruction'* MacMillan, p. 182.

⁹⁰Cohen R. (1987) *'The new helots.'* Avebury, p. 144

gration was not strategy; a permanent solution; a structural necessity, and secondly, that migration plays a crucial rôle in the organisation and reorganisation of relations of exploitation with national states since labour migration could not function only as manipulative factor because it refers to relations between people in society.

4.4 Conclusion.

This chapter started from the actual development of migration policies and migration flows in order to study the ways that both are analysed and perceived in concrete terms and the ways that contemporary developments of migration prevail in public debates. The emphasis on the rôle of the state in the terms of migration policies were viewed as a crucial element, since the state mediates in the formation of social relations within and outside its national context. The second section focused on national states as an internal part of the global political framework, and not as independent units which develop relations among themselves. This was seen as a prerequisite in order to understand their relations simultaneously in competitive and collaboration terms and as a context in which migration perceptions, attitudes and practice are being processed.

Moreover, migration was viewed under the perspective of international

division of labour, as it is constructed in capital relation terms, namely as a specific form of exploitation but also as a resistance to this exploitation. Under this perspective, migration is seen as a form of social relations which potentially includes all other processes which constitute the organisation of global social relations, but their elements emerge in a particular manner depending on the specific national context.

Finally, migration flows were perceived mainly as a part of the social struggle of global capital relations, while migration policies are seen as a way to arrange global contradiction and conflicts within national territory in order to secure the reproduction of the system nationally and internationally. The above examination concentrated on the example of the labour migration in Europe after the Second World War, in order to study how migration as a part of social struggle can lead to a re-organisation of social relations within national borders, but also as a part of global society. The above argument means that the migration process is an unfolding process which reflects the contradictions of capital relation globally and also the specific conflicts and inconsistencies which emerge under particular national conditions. Under this perspective, both migration policies and migration flows can be viewed as different aspects of the same process, which both are preconditions and results of the capitalist organisation of global social relations.

In the next chapter, this study will to concentrate on a contemporary tendency towards a regional unification of national states, that is the process of construction of the European Union. In association with migration, this study will explore the ways in which a regional union emerged through a broader cooperation of national states than those of bilateral and multilateral agreements. The next chapter will focus on agreements and treaties within the EU concerning migration and the process of constructing political cooperation among member-states and constructing the grounds for membership in the European Union.

Chapter 5

European Union migration: A regional context.

5.1 Introduction.

The previous chapters explored the general and abstract elements of the existing organisation of social relations internationally under a historical perspective, as the general social context within migration exists. Moreover, the focus was on the ways that actual migration policies and flows are perceived and developed as different but united dimensions of this general social context. However, besides the state as an abstract category and the existence and function of nation states as actual sovereign entities in the

international context, a new social formation of a legitimate and sovereign entity has emerged under which various national states attempt to be united. This emerging regional entity which is more intensified in Europe - enlarges territorial boundaries and re-arranges the ways that social relations are organised because the process and the decision making is determined by the coexistence of national and regional entities.

This chapter will examine this process of unification of national states in Europe through the establishment and formation of the EU, in relation to migration, in order to explore the ways that migration is incorporated and shaped through the process of construction of a sovereign regional entity. This exploration is included not only because it is a crucial change in the relations between national states in the international context but also because Greece participates in this regional unification as a full member state.

This exploration serves as a connecting link between the previous theoretical analysis of organisation of social relations, its historical aspects and its expression in a concrete regional context. This regional context is a contemporary structure which emerged and was established by the cooperation of several nation states and is characterised by the coexistence of these national territories and the construction of a regional sovereign territory. In these terms the examination of the historical development of migration in

Europe, in individual nation states and in the EU, can demonstrate not only the ways that migration is constructed and defined but also how the changes in migration depend on the broader social context. At the same time, it can show how migration contributes to the re-organisation of the social relations within national and regional contexts.

Viewing migration as an aspect of general organisation of social relations and in association with the contradictions and changes, especially in the European states that the previous chapter elaborated on, this study of the EU migration investigates the ways that migration is incorporated in the process of the construction of a community. That is, the ways that migration is transferred from the national contexts to a regional one, legitimating as the basic condition for membership to this community the 'nationality' criterion. So, this study can see how the fragmented social reality and the prevalence of market logic as priority is reproduced, indicating the foreigners and the 'others' in the face of migrants who do not have the right to participate in this community which is gradually constructing itself on grounds of common culture and economic interests. Consequently, this study can focus on how the question of political organisation and participation is marginalised, or is considered as a secondary and as an a posteriori question. In this way, social categorisations of specific groups are constructed, formulating the relations

among them and with political organisation through cultural and economic criteria.

An additional and crucial reason for studying migration at the EU level, is that Greece is a member-state of the EU. Therefore, the tendencies concerning EU cooperation and unification, constitute also the framework in which Greek migration takes place. The examination of the EU decision-making regarding migration will assist the understanding of the influence of this regional collaboration towards the establishment of a common territory on the formulation of migration policies in Greece. Moreover, it can clarify the ways that migration is incorporated in the Greek social structure, while at the same time assisting the study of controversies and contradictions between national and regional interests and needs in the decision making at a national level.

Particularly, this chapter will explore this regional cooperation and the process towards European unification which is being institutionalised by the creation of the European Union in association with migration. It will focus on the attempts of the member states of the EU to harmonise their migration policies. The first section presents a series of initiatives, agreements and Treaties, as main patterns which constitute the basis of a potentially common migration policy. The second section explores the problems, definitions,

exclusions and tensions which have emerged in the process of construction of a political framework and a common membership in the EU under the contemporary conditions. In the process of reconstruction of social relations in each national territory and the consequent establishment of two political frameworks, European and national, migration appears to be a crucial issue which constitutes a part of the definition of European membership and inclusion.

5.2 The migration phenomenon in the European Union member states since the Second World War.

5.2.1 The postwar period and migration in European countries.

After the Second World War, European countries particularly the North-western and Western European countries ceased to be characterised predominantly by emigration to the trans-oceanic countries, mainly Canada, Australia, the USA and South Africa and they themselves became immigration countries. Simultaneously, other European countries, such as Italy, Spain, Ireland, Finland, Greece and Portugal, continued to be emigration

countries but with a European instead of a trans-oceanic destination. At least up to the 1960s, the migration phenomenon occurred within the European countries, that is, immigration and emigration countries were both from the European continent. In this general tendency, there were some exceptions, which were connected with European countries which were colonial powers before the Second World War, such as UK, France and the Netherlands, and they experienced migration from non-European countries, that is, from their former colonies.

However, a general impression was that it was assumed that the settlement of immigrants - from both sides, those of immigrants and countries, emigration and immigration countries - would be temporary¹. This impression was based on the different level and rate of economic development among European countries and the belief that the less developed countries would develop soon and emigrants qualifications, acquired in immigration countries, can be useful in emigration ones. On the one hand, the advanced industrial countries, due to the high rate of economic expansion suffered from an acute labour shortage while on the other hand, the less 'developed' Southern European countries had a surplus of labour, especially in agricul-

¹Mayer K. B. (1975) *'Intra-European migration during the past 20 years'* IMR Vol. IX (4) pp. 441-447.

tural areas. Under these conditions, an equal exchange of manpower was facilitated with benefits for both sides, in economic terms, and as a necessary cooperation among European countries which later was sealed by the establishment of the EEC.

In the 1960s and 70s, the need for new sources of migrant labour was filled from the wider Mediterranean basin and the countries of North Africa became new sources of migrants. Despite the fact that each country had its own characteristics, with different sources of migrants, formulating different policies and attitudes towards them, nevertheless, the identical pattern of migration phenomenon was that they viewed the influx of migrants in terms of labour market needs, successfully or unsuccessfully, until the beginning of the 1970s. In achieving the influx of migrant workers according to labour market needs states applied generally and different practices, the recruitment or the 'spontaneous' influx of immigrants for countries with colonial experience. After the oil crisis, these countries common concern was to stop the influx of labour immigration, to reduce their numbers through repatriation or through changing their status, and design strict immigration controls even though they allowed some family re-unification². As far as the migra-

²Usually, these countries viewed free allowance of family re-unification as a way to have more immigration in their territories, Schmid G. (1992) *'The development of migration policies and their contradictions.'* Innovation Vol. 5 (2).

tion process in the European emigration countries, such as Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal, is concerned, in the early 1970s emigration rates were decreased and simultaneously occurred a certain level of return migration. At the same time, labour shortages in some economic sectors were filled by the importation of migrants workers, a fact which transformed eventually these countries into immigration countries as well.

5.2.2 The EC as an immigration region and the early attempts to harmonise policies within the EC.

Since the 1980s, it can be said that almost all member states experience immigration or give priority to immigration issues. However, different dimensions of the immigration issue have emerged, depending on the background of migration in each state. For countries in which migration started earlier, the main features of immigration - which have been seen as a problem especially after the oil crisis and the economic recession - have been the increasing number of asylum seekers and the process of integration of the second generation which was a consequence of the family re-unification. For countries which have an emigration orientation, the main issue has been the influx of large numbers of illegal immigrants, mainly due to the vulnerability of their geographical borders and the absence of specific policies for the new

phenomenon of migration.

Under these conditions, it is worth noting that all member states of the EU consider the issue of immigration as a serious problem since they believe that the EU countries are full of immigrants and assume that they have already reached the 'threshold of tolerance'³. Moreover, all member states have seen as further problems the changes in the Eastern part of Europe and the increasing rate of population growth in countries neighbouring Europe such as Turkey, Egypt and the Magrebian countries since both of these phenomena can cause potential immigration into their territories.

On the one hand, each European country has developed national policies in order to manage the immigration problem within its territory. On the other hand, the member states needed to see the diversified problems from a common perspective within the EC, because of the turning point of the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993. The Treaty had as consequence of the abolition of internal borders which has an impact on all member states policies. So, migration is seen as a major problem for both national and European territory and member states' policy focus on curtailing the influx of immigrants and asylum seekers within the union. This is the dominant

³Böhning W. R. (1991) *'Integration and Immigration pressures in Western Europe'* International Labour Review Vol. 130 (4) pp. 445-448.

approach to the immigration patterns and the basis of the harmonisation of immigration policies within the EU, while the formulation and implementation of integrative or incorporation measures for immigrants who have already settled in the member states' territories, have been mainly left to the discretion of single national states, that is, it is an issue in national jurisdiction.

In this context, the member states cooperate frequently on the immigration issue especially at the governmental level and they have established groups and agreements such as Trevi, Schengen and Ad Hoc groups which exchange views on immigration issues and make policy recommendations on for example, visa requirements, definition of aliens and their circulation in state territories. However, at the union level, there are initiatives from the EU institutions which include reports and working groups but in general, the member states disagree and are reluctant to abolish governmental and state institutions' control on migration. In fact, migration is seen as a complicated issue since it involves the individual states, their institutions, the European institutions, EU territory, public opinion, the immigrants themselves and migrant states' relations with the so-called emigration states. Generally, the states connect the abolition of internal controls with more

extensive external ones⁴ and there is evidence that they are trying to avoid debating the issues in public and deal with it, in an democratic framework⁵.

5.3 Current developments in the immigration and asylum issues within the EC.

5.3.1 Immigration and asylum as problems.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the impression of all member states is that the EU territory and individual national territories are the targets for migrants and asylum seekers' influxes with the latter to be seen as being economic migrants in disguise. Simultaneously, with the abolition of the internal borders, the governments of the EU member states have to accept not only the movement of citizens of the member states within the EU territory, but also the movement of permanent residents whose nationality is different from those of the EU member states. In these terms, in order to avoid free movement of these permanent residents and their potential resettlement to a different state than that to which they initially migrated, the

⁴Callovi, G. (1992) *'Regulation of migration in 1993: Pieces of the EC jigsaw puzzle.'* IMR Vol. XXVI (3) pp. 353-373.

⁵Baldwin-Edwards, M. (1991) *'Immigration after 1992.'* Policy and Politics Vol 19 (3) pp. 199-211.

member states focus on regulating their movements as a part of the process of the harmonisation of their policies. States, making use of their power to construct decision making and to define what constitutes a problem. Thus they have defined as problems, the influx of illegal migrants, the number of asylum seekers and a trend towards proliferation of racism and xenophobia, connecting the matters of immigration and asylum with racism and xenophobia as well as with the increasing awareness of public opinion. In these perceptions and actions, immigrants are almost treated as criminals and generally as deviants⁶ while asylum seekers are defined as those who abuse the liberal European migration states' asylum laws⁷. Moreover, the formulation and implementation of these policies have the aim to safeguard national security, public order and generally European values and prosperity.

5.3.2 Initiatives within the EU.

The development of the EU has been, generally, characterised by the reluctance of the member states to surrender their powers over the process

⁶Cohen S. (1990) *'Imagine there is no countries.'*, (1992) *'International relations controls against migrants immigrants and refugees.'* Manchester; Greater Manchester Immigration Aid Unit.

⁷Giorgi L., Pohoryles R., Pohoryles-Drexel S. and Schmid G. (1992) *'The internal logic and contradictions of migration control: An excursion into theory and practice in relation to East-West migration.'* Innovation Vol. 5 No. 3 pp. 25-37.

of decision making to EU institutions and bodies, especially those issues which are regarded as foreign and home affairs. Moreover, there is a tendency for decision making to be based on administrative bodies and bureaucracy through the official European Union institutions such as the European Council and the Commission which are controlled directly or indirectly by national governments. On the contrary, the European Parliament, as the more democratic institution, does not seem to be strengthened in the process of the decision making.

During the 1970s, the interests of the EC member-states with regard to migrant labour was dealt with by individual states as a part of their own social context, without any efforts to construct a common policy. As Callovi⁸, argues there was a slight move towards a common policy with an agreement, between the Community and five Third World countries, Turkey, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Yugoslavia which contained non-discrimination clauses with regard to social security and to working conditions in the late 1970s. The emergence of a harmonisation of immigration policy accelerated in the 1980s and has been at both national and community level. It was in 1985 when a communication of the Commission included the two terms, namely 'Community' and 'migration policy'.

⁸Callovi op. cit.

Although the Community bodies and institutions have taken initiatives in protecting human rights, combating racial discrimination and publishing reports on the immigration and asylum issues, the member-states are interested in enhancing intergovernmental cooperation setting community participation aside the decision-making since their policies have been based on *ad hoc* and secretive bodies and separate intergovernmental arrangements⁹.

In 1993, with the ratification of the treaty of Maastricht, or the treaty on European Political and Monetary Union, a series of provisions, referring to migration policy as an explicit policy area¹⁰, were introduced as well as the status of European citizen on the basis of national member states citizenship. With the Maastricht treaty, migration policy still remains an area which touches upon intergovernmental cooperation, but at the same time includes initiatives on migration and asylum matters from the part of the European Commission, that is, the Union framework, even though the Commission has limited power of initiative¹¹.

⁹Bunyan T. (1991) '*Towards an authoritarian European state.*' *Race and class* 32 No. 3 pp. 19-26.

¹⁰Baldwin-Edwards M. (1996) '*The emerging European immigration regime: Some reflections on implications for Southern Europe.*' Unpublished Report.

¹¹Convey A. and Kupiszewski M. (1995) '*Keeping up with Schengen: Migration and policy in the European Union.* IMR Vol. 29 No. 4 pp. 939-963.

5.4 Treaties and intergovernmental groups in reference to migration.

The initial official movement on closer cooperation of their policies with the target of harmonisation of them was the Single European Act in 1987 which was the first amendment of the Rome Treaty. It confirmed the above requirement of cooperation and consultation among member-states in order to both eliminate the internal controls and strengthen the external ones, through the recognition of the jurisdiction of the national governments¹².

The next step was at the Maastricht Summit, the Treaty on European Union, the New Title-Provision on Cooperation in the field of Justice and Home Affairs ¹³, which also included issues of immigration and asylum policy in the context of attempts to harmonise their policies. With the Treaty on European Union which came into force in 1993, the concept of the European citizenship is introduced and attributed to every person who holds the nationality of a member state. The rights which are granted, are freedom of movement and settlement within the EU territory. Moreover, the Treaty in-

¹²Ketelsen, J. V. (1992) '*Third country nationals and European Community jurisdiction.*' Immigration and nationality law in practice' Vol. 6 No. 2.

¹³House of Lords 10th report 1993, '*Community policy on migration with evidence.*' London:HMSO.

corporates the issues of immigration from non-member states as sections of justice and home affairs in the third pillar which is connected with intergovernmental cooperation¹⁴. In addition to the control as a dominant aspect of immigration policies, another aspect was also included was that of expulsion mainly of illegal immigrants, asylum-seekers and in general 'aliens' who are considered undesirable to the EU territory. The general tendency towards strengthening and securing member-states' power, is to construct policies in an intergovernmental way in most of the cases without even consulting the Community institutions. In some cases, the formation of an ad-hoc group to study immigration issues and prepare recommendations, takes place with great secrecy. In this logic, the governments of the EC member-states set up some ad-hoc groups in which they can decide on issues of immigration in order to promote a common policy excluding the EU institutions. The most important groups are the Ad-Hoc Immigration Group, the Trevi and the Schengen. The latter two are more significant and will be models for construction of a common immigration policy for the EU generally.

The oldest group is the Trevi which was set up in 1976 by the Ministers of Interior and Justice. All the twelve member-states participate in its activities which have as a major aim the augmentation of common policies.

¹⁴Convey et al op. cit. and Baldwin-Edwards (1996) op. cit.

The Trevi group is based on four different working groups which deal with the following areas of cooperation; drugs, terrorism and illegal immigrants, namely areas which are seen as a threat against stability and free movement of people with the EC¹⁵. In general, problems have emerged as a consequence of distrust of certain states in the implementation of agreements. For example, the French government, in the Ministers meeting in Copenhagen in May 1993, made some reservations against the Netherlands, and Greece and Italy due to their relaxed policies towards drug-traffickers and illegal immigrants respectively. Moreover, the French government accused the other contracting countries of not implementing the exchange of information¹⁶.

The Ad-Hoc Group on immigration was formed in 1986 by the Ministers of Interior giving priority to the asylum issue. Mainly, they intend to put an end to the abusive use of the right of asylum through common policy¹⁷. It is developed as intergovernmental group of cooperation granting the Commission the observer status.

¹⁵King, M. (1992) *'The impact of EC border policies on the policing of refugees in the Eastern and Central Europe.'* Innovation Vol. 5 No. 3 pp. 7-21, Layton-Henry, Z. (1992) *'The politics of immigration: Immigration race and race relations in post war Britain.'* Oxford Blackwell Publishers.

¹⁶To VIMA 9/5/93 and 4.6.93, The Guardian 26/5/93

¹⁷Joly, D. , Nettleton, C. and Poulton, H. (1992) *'Refugees, asylum in Europe?'* London: Minority Rights Publications.

The Schengen Group was established in 1985. Despite not involving all member-states (eg the UK, Ireland and Denmark), it has emerged as the major group of cooperation on issues of immigration and asylum. Initially, only five member-states participated namely France, Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands. Since 1990, all the Southern member-states of the EC signed the Schengen agreements after taking legislative measures in order to adjust themselves to the new phenomenon of immigration in their territories ¹⁸. The three member-states which have still remained out of the Schengen Group will possibly enter if the Schengen is accepted as a model for the community immigration policy ¹⁹. In June 1990, the contracting parties signed a 'Supplementary' agreement on gradual abolition of controls on their nationals within their territories and an imposition of common visa requirements and of harmonisation of their policies towards aliens ²⁰. The ratification of the two agreements of Schengen by national parliaments is prerequisite in order to implement them in the signatory states' territories. The dominant matters of the Schengen agreements refer to exchange of information about asylum-seekers, immigrants, criminals and in general

¹⁸Italy (1990), Spain and Portugal (1991) and Greece (1992).

¹⁹Layton-Henry, (1992) *op. cit.*

²⁰The definition of an alien is any person other than a national of the Contracting Parties (King *op. cit.*).

undesirables and to a set of rules and regulations on career liability. They give great attention to the rôle of the police²¹. in order to control the influx of the above categories in their territories.

The above initiatives and agreements constitute the member-states co-operation in designing a common migration policy. A general conclusion is that member states consider migration as an important issue which concerns exclusively national sovereignty and concomitantly, any initiative for common policies is undertaken in inter-governmental cooperation terms. it can be argued that migration policy is included in the broader political cooperation among member-states and their policies harmonisation under a construction of a European political framework. The political cooperation is generally seen in negative terms and at least as secondary to ethnic cooperation and harmonisation of policies among member-states.

²¹The police action would include transborder observation and hot pursuit, see Schutte JJE (1991)

5.5 Construction of a European political framework.

5.5.1 A reference to the concept of Europe.

The following section examines special definitions, problems and exclusions in association with the process of a construction of a political framework at the EU level. The focus is on the ways that the EU citizenship emerged, together with the construction of the migration issue in the European common territory. The ways that the migration issue is emerging and debating at the European Union level is connected with the ways that national membership is historically defined through the combination of citizenship and nationality.

Actually, the ways that Europe defines itself, including or excluding countries, have been changed depending on economic, political, social, ideological and cultural conditions²². For example, after the Second World War and until 1989, Europe was divided into two blocks, the Eastern and Western ones and also the USA chose to be involved in economic, political and military power in close cooperation with Western European countries. Another

²²For European traditions, culture and history see Pieterse, J. N. '*Frictions of Europe*' *Race and Class* 32 (3) (1991) pp. 3-10.

example is connected with countries which participated in migration after the Second World War. In these terms, the notion of the Southern European countries should not be restricted only to the traditional or 'proper'²³ Southern European countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece but it can be extended to all Balkan countries in general all countries belonging to the Mediterranean basin. A final example can be associated with the current changes in Europe after the collapse of the 'Socialist' regime of Central and Eastern European countries and their process of inclusion or exclusion in the European economic and political integration especially in the EU terms.

However, a regional formal cooperation of national states is expressed by the construction of the EU and its process of forming of social relations which is comprised by fifteen states so far²⁴.

²³Nikolinakos M. (1975) *'The concept of the European South and the North-South problem in Europe.'* Preprint Series, International Institute for Comparative Social Studies of the Science Center, Berlin.

²⁴Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, Luxemburg, Great Britain, Denmark, Iceland, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Sweeden and Finland.

5.5.2 The focus on economic regional cooperation.

Under the present conditions, a transformation of the economic and political relations between national states has emerged restructuring their cooperation and including both national and regional coordination of their policies within an institutionalised complex framework.

In the process of the European economic and political integration, a series of issues come to the fore. First of all, since the establishment of the EEC, the economic cooperation among member states has been the priority while the political and social cooperation has started to be realised after the 1980s. As Martiniello argues issues such as political cooperation and citizenship have been secondary issues and desirable movements for European integration as far as they are seen as facilitators or 'for a more efficient completion and functioning of the internal market'²⁵. Moreover, as Liebfried quoted in Twine's argument²⁶ about the development of social rights in the EC

²⁵Martiniello M. *'European citizenship, European identity and migrants: Towards the post national state?'* in Miles R. and Thränhardt D. (eds) *'Migration and European integration: The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion.'* Pinter and Associated University Presses: London (1995).

²⁶Twine F. op. cit. p. 156 *'Citizenship and social rights: The independence of self and society'* Sage: London (1994).

‘The founding of a United Europe depends mainly, if not totally, on the ‘four freedoms’; the free movement of persons, goods, capital and services ... Political as well as social citizenship are presently relatively marginal in the process of European unification’.

Under this logic, it is generally assumed that economic and monetary integration of the EU member states is a kind of a separate issue from political and social ones and the exclusive purpose for the construction of the EU. Thus, the economic cooperation and harmonisation of national policies do not seem to challenge or to threaten the national sovereignty of member states as opposed to their political and social cooperation among the member national states.

5.5.3 Constructing membership in the EU through migration.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, states relations are based on the grounds of collaboration and conflict. In this perspective, the European community and other regional unions can be seen as a ‘strategy’, to overcome the crisis which is created by different forms of capital. A strategy which was emerged by the necessity of reproduction of capitalist social re-

lations, but it does not have a fixed and complete outcome. In fact, it is a process in which the re-organisation of social relations involves previous preconditions as results, for example, nation-states, creating new preconditions in present which can possibly be seen as results in future.

The contemporary conditions, under which the European unification occurs, are related to the present crisis which has resulted due to the emergence and the decline of the welfare state. This crisis is also included in the process of constructing the political framework at the EU level. The welfare state was an expression of the social question which brought about a general political cooperation between social classes and the state. At the same time, the re-organisation of political and economic relations under neo-liberal ideology and practices, which were based on the fragmentation and entrenchment of social relations, entailed the destruction of the binding dimension of society and created new social values, away from necessary conditions which could permit the ensuring of social labour and securing of social life. In this context, it is obscure what constitutes the 'social problem' since the new social values do not seem to be based on the social function but on the individual interest and egoism. The new conditions of the globalisation of the economy and the decline of national markets, with the restructuring of the political and economic relations world-wide, has also affected the rela-

tions between private and public domains and their competence within the national boundaries.

As mentioned earlier, in contemporary societies, the economic, political, cultural, social, ideological relations are seen to constitute different domains which seem to be linked but still they are seen as remaining self-existent entities. As a consequence, the emergent problems in the reproduction of each domain, are confronted as isolated problems, even in cases that there is a realisation of their independence which can bring about problems or crisis in other domains. This fragmentation of reality and their external relationship between domains is evident in the process of constructing a European economic, social and political cooperation and unity. Thus, in the process of unification of economic policies among member states of the European Community,²⁷ political and social questions are revealed since the freedom of movement of people across the European territory is *sine qua non* for achievement of the unification. In this sense, the status of the European citizenship is attributed to citizens of member states, on the basis of individual rights, especially of the right to property. Moreover,

²⁷In a sense, the debate does not seem to focus on the adaption of common policies - previously undertaken from national states - such as common agricultural policy, common fishing policy and most of all monetary union since they are seen as coordinating strategies of national states to secure capital accumulation not only domestically but also world-wide.

the granting of individual rights such as freedom of movement has been attributed on the grounds of nationality, reproducing inclusion and exclusion which are related to the national territories.

Owing to the fact that the political cooperation on the EU level is based on the will of the nation-states, whose sovereignty can legitimate the European power, the process of the European unification is reproducing the national political framework and divisions, which already exist in each national territory. In these terms, the issue of national sovereignty is conceived as absolute, that is, there is no power above it and the fragmentation of political frameworks in national states - or as Habermas states 'that the political public sphere is fragmented into national units'²⁸ - are important aspects which determine the process of formation of political relations between people and potential supra-national political power or a 'regional political body'. The EU as a regional attempt to re-organise social relations, it seems potentially to create a new sovereignty, which can be defined as a modern, emerging through the national sovereignty. Viewing this perspective through Negri's argument²⁹ about the concept of national sovereignty as composed by

'territory and people as two attributes of one same substance

²⁸Habermas, op. cit. p. 29.

²⁹Negri, T. (1996) '*The crisis of political space*' *Common Sense* 19 pp. 33-41 in particular p. 34.

and government is the relation which consecrates this unity',

in association with his perception of modern as

'it is singularised over a territory by virtue of the fact that it is exercised over a territory and in relation to a people',

the EU can be seen as an emergent way to organise political power, territory and people, namely to legitimise itself not only within a defined territory (European which is under construction), but also outside of this 'structured' territory's boundaries. This process of reconstruction of social relations, on a regional basis also expresses aspects of social relations which are seen as prerequisites, such as citizenship, and nationality, for membership in a national territory.

Associated with the contemporary conditions as they were described earlier, and according to the territorial hierarchy, European citizenship divides the residents of its territory into nationals, EU citizens and Third country nationals, while the establishment of a weak parliament and a passive but also dividing, political participation already expresses the degrading and subversion of democratic rule³⁰. Thus, the introduction of the European

³⁰Dividing political participation means that there is a political conflictual hierarchy not only towards the level of participation (national / European - local /outside territory) but also towards agents as political actors (nationals -Europeans - foreigners) it seems the

concept of citizenship is imposed 'from above'³¹. The European citizenship is granted in functionalistic terms in order to facilitate the movement of people and to protect the right to property. Also, the European territory can be defined through the unity among some nation-states, and includes and excludes countries, as well as people. In this way it constitutes the sources of its sovereign power as an entity. Therefore, the debate on citizenship and nationalism touches upon the process of structuring a European entity which coexists with the process of restructuring of the national entity. The formation of a political public sphere, with a possible central European authority which can mediate between social groups, while being under citizens control is, so far, marginalised. Rather the focus is on creating a feeling of belonging and communality.

In the above process migration is included, since it is a form of social relations which identifies on the one hand, the people who have common ties with a politically organised and defined territory and on the other hand, the people who come to this entrenched territory indicating who is the 'foreigner'. In this sense, one of the first initiatives of European political cooperation has been action against migrants. This initiative included a basis of the acquisition of rights to transform from free and equal individuals to a privilege which is justified on a pre-given social characteristic.

³¹Martiniello, op. cit. p. 42.

potential categorisation of migrants as criminals since migrants were associated with drug dealers and terrorists. It has been the first political attempt to generate a legitimated regional territory, creating a definition of a common territory and its boundaries. Moreover, the European well-being has been seen as under threat, and due to the fact that other countries' political administration create instability and poverty, migration control is necessary in order to protect their European nationals' well being³². At the same time, migrants who have already been within European territory have been ignored, since the priority has been given to the citizens of each member-(nation)state. Thus, in the process of reconstruction of political framework between national member-states and European bodies, the sovereignty of national states constitutes the source of the legitimation of European political cooperation. This results to the reproduction of existing national categorisations and conflicts among groups into the European political framework. However, it can be argued that on the one hand, this potentially allows social struggles to be transferred to the European level and on the other hand, this constructs the cultural, political, social, economic European values and

³²The well being can be defined as expansion of their markets to unify economically, but also arrange minority issues within national states' borders. The last issue seems to be left in single member states' discretion as an internal affair especially after a recent agreement that other member states cannot provide refuge to citizens of a member state.

ties and expresses them in the emerging European political framework.

5.5.4 The cultural issue in the process of homogenisation of a multi-ethnic regional territory.

In this perspective, the existence of migration communities in the EU, the numbers of refugees and asylum seekers are not the causes of emerging debates, which have an impact on the re-organisation of social structures, but they are internal elements in the process of constitution and organisation of social relations, in a more extended political territory than the national states' one. It is not the matter of their increasing numbers, or the present global nature of migration that nation states take action against. Nor is it the unemployment, the scarcity of housing and health services, often associated with the immigrant communities or immigration. Nor is it the demographic boom in the North Africa and the need to protect the European territory or European national territories. On the contrary, it is the difficulty of single nation states to attract capital (the source of their power) and keep it in their territories, that is the cause of the crisis. It is the difficulty of the states completely to control and to intervene in economic activities, it is the difficulty of social organisation to develop solidarity and cooperation relations between self-interest and isolated individuals. It is that people

communicate through rigidified forms such as private property, wage labour, state(historical social forms), that is, people communicate through them, 'instead of' communicating in solidarity and direct community'³³.

All these dimensions construct the European social becoming, and they are expressed in the process of the European unification. In this process, the solidarity and cooperation seem to be rigidified and entrenched in constructing a common cultural identity in a regional confined territory, neglecting other issues of its political organisation. Taking into account a point made by Adorno and Horkheimer³⁴

'...as a intermediate level between the totality and the individual, the groups are determined increasingly by the structure of the contemporary society, the more the ideology insists on the particularity of the group'

in association with the crisis of the democratic procedures in the political decision making, it is possible to understand the focus on the construction of a group which can identify itself with a European identity and the inclusion the migration issue in this construction. It is also to comprehend the emergence and intensification of social problems also in the European Union

³³Psychopedis, K Open Marxism Vol. III p. 24.

³⁴op cit p.91.

level.

As mentioned earlier in the national context, the political and administrative decisions have great difficulties to achieve binding social goals especially with the adoption of neoliberal policies and after the collapse of the regime in countries of the Eastern and Central Europe ³⁵, has led to the dominance of the individualisation and to the elimination and rejection of forms of political and social representation, such as political parties and trade unions. At the European context, the attribution of rights does not include such political rights which can permit citizens to control and influence the decisions of the European political institutions³⁶. Thus, the particularity of European culture is emphasised in opposition to culture of migrant or ethnic communities³⁷.

³⁵Bouamama pp 61-62

³⁶The process of the European political framework is not one-sided but includes the social struggles which demand social, economic and political rights and their practical implementation. However, at the present, these demands are taking place within the national territories, or they are raised in the European Court of Justice.

³⁷This point does not mean that the migrant and of ethnic communities are not based on common internal ties or on feelings of belonging among their members. Rather, it indicates that these communities are generated by the social relations which immigrants experience in their settlement in a country and generally, the establishment of those communities is based on the experience of migrants that they cannot belong to the broader and dominant group of nationals. In these terms, the emergence of migrant communities is partly due

It is obvious that the European single nation-states and European territory 'are becoming multicultural and multiethnic societies as a result of the European unification, a fact which even though challenges the homogeneity of nationals of single nation-states is not seen as an obstacle. In contrast, migration communities and movements of third countries nationals are seen as challenging the 'homogeneous' European culture. Therefore, it seems in a sense natural, that ethnic groups and communities - which are seen as permanent and inalterable- are unable to coexist without tensions and problems due to the fact that the world consists of separated and independent groups and communities which are based on specific cultural and geographical similarities, or ties and common histories. The potential equality and social collaboration between people or groups is seen in the terms of the people as enclosed in their cultural and national beliefs and identities, so their differences and divisions prevail without enabling them to find any common grounds.

Under these conditions, the re-emergence of racist and nationalistic movements are seen as reactions against the migrant communities or the fear of increase of migrants in national territory of each member-state in a period of to the process of categorisation and exclusion from the social and political activity in the immigration country.

economic great difficulties. Furthermore, these reactions are connected with the prevailing issue of culture and its significance with the dominant attitude of the impossibility of the social communication of social groups with different cultural background within a society. In fact these movements and tensions are not associated with the political crisis and the ways that the re-organisation of political relations with national and regional territories are taking place. They are not associated with the weakness of political powers to secure general preconditions of social life which are consequences of the function of the social system itself and they are basic problems which are related to employment, health, environmental issues etc.

Consequently, the manifestation of these alienated and fetishised forms of social relations incorporates the elements of the present debates which are based on the impossibility of peaceful co-existence of different cultures alongside with the competitive indifferent individual as main parts of the European culture. Moreover, these manifestations seem not to be confined in national territories but to spread to united regional territory since it is reproducing in the organisation of its political framework basic elements of the national system without including democratic principles.

5.6 Conclusions.

In this chapter, the focus is on the regional context as it is expressed by the construction of the EU. The main interest is in the migration experience of national states as members of the EU particularly after the Second World War. This study has attempted to explore the ways that migration is involved in the process of coordination and harmonisation of member states' policies in order to achieve a common European policy. Moreover, it presents the political and legal initiatives within the EU as it is developing, in the process from an initial need of economic unity to a political and social unification.

In sum, European unification is a process which emerges from a certain organisation of social relations, which is characterised by the construction of sovereign political and national identities. European unification, in order to define and justify its economic, political and cultural entity poses a series of problems as fundamental which constitute its *raison d'être*. One of them is migration, which means initially European powers has posed migration as a problem which needs a European political dealing with. In this way, Europe defines itself and then institutionalises this definition, through the construction of a European citizenship on the basis of national background (on a pre-social characteristic) and the division between different residents

in the European Union member states. The process of the European Union in a wider geographical area with a wider population incorporates previous exclusions and inequalities or creates new ones between residents in the European countries. The decision making in the European level is not characterised by democratic procedures, but mainly by bureaucratisation and the lack of information since democratic institutions are difficult to function substantially when the economic needs of the European construction and collaboration are prevailing. The political element appears to be subordinated to the economic logic not only from the aspect of the European integration but also from the dominant global practice.

In these historical conditions, the construction of the European Union in order to legitimise its power to people, does not seem to create a political participation and a political definition of its citizens, but rather an entity which is based on the common culture and common history, which is emerging as an opposing culture to *non-Europeans*, mainly migrants within or potential migrants in her territory.

Thus, the EU is constructing a political framework in order to formulate social relations with its citizens, but exclusively on the grounds of the basic individual rights mainly property rights. On the contrary, the EU does not seem to construct any public sphere other than individual national ones as a

united political framework, in order to arrange its relations with its citizen and non-citizens within the European context.

In the next chapter, the analysis will focus on a particular national context, that is the Greek state with the purpose of examine more precisely the particular ways that the migration phenomenon is constructed and formulated, in a specific national social context. Since Greece is a member state of the EU the next chapter is going to view the ways that her participation in the process of regional integration is reflected in migration.

Chapter 6

The Greek Migration Phenomenon.

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter the focus is going to be on Greece as a specific case in order to explore the ways that migration is constructed and developed by particular historical and social contexts and the ways that the interrelationship between the state, nationals and migrants within a social formation influence not only the development of migration, but also the structures of social relations within the immigration society.

This section involves firstly, the structural social and historical char-

acteristics of Greek social formation, and focuses on the development of capitalism and nation state building in Greece since her independence. Secondly, it focuses on general aspects of migration in Greek society, thirdly, on the emergent dimensions of immigration which are affected by structural social characteristics and fourthly on the development of immigration policies which involve immigration legislation formulation and implementation of policies and the dominant issues in the public debate on immigration until 1996-97, and finally, on the groups of immigrants and their position in Greek society.

A point which needs clarification is related with the term 'immigrant'. This refers to illegal and legal 'economic immigrants' but partly also to asylum seekers and refugees and to immigrants of Greek origin. The latter group refers exclusively to people from the former Soviet Union (Pontians) and from Albania (Borioepiotes) and not from other countries since Greeks from other countries are considered by official policies as 'returnees' and not as immigrants.

6.2 Issues of Greek social formation

In order to understand the migration phenomenon in Greece and to explain the specific form it takes in Greek society, it is necessary to focus on the

Greek social formation and the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of this particular national organisation. In other words, following the perspective of this study, the focus will be on the specific determination of the general categories (such as state, market, nation etc) of the organisation of social relations, that is, on the ways that they have been emerged and shaped after Greece's independence from the Ottoman Empire in the 1820s.

Greece is seen as a country which entered the process of capital accumulation later than the 'advanced' capitalist countries. The influx of foreign capital and Greek diaspora capital played a crucial rôle in capitalist development in Greece.¹ After Greece's independence in the 1820s there were some basic characteristics which functioned as structural constraints in the economic and political organisation of Greek society. Greece was an agricultural society with a 'relatively inflated service sector - a large part of which consisted of a huge state apparatus'² which provided seemingly unlimited job opportunities for rural overpopulation³. Moreover, clientelism - hierarchical interpersonal local networks - persisted within the institutional framework of Greece as a modern state.⁴ In sum, factors, such as the

¹Mouzelis N. P. (1986) *'Politics in the semi-periphery: early parliamentarism and late industrialism.'* Basingstoke: Macmillan, p. 243

²ibid. p. 241

³Tsoukalas K. and Panayotopoulou R. (1994)

⁴Pollis A. (1987) *'The state, the law and human rights in modern Greece.'* Human

involvement of foreign powers in the establishment of the Greek state, the existence of the Greek diaspora outside the boundaries of Greece and the importance of both foreign and diaspora capital in Greece and concomitantly the dominant rôle of the state in the Greek social formation, were interwoven and influenced the process of organisation of Greek society.

In addition, Greek national consciousness, simultaneously, developed and was strictly connected with the establishment of the Greek Orthodox Church within the context of the rise of nationalism and national Churches in the Balkan area. Consequently, Orthodoxy became a component of the Greek nation-state and the definition of 'Greekness' as a collective identity, a criterion which divided the Greeks, 'us' from alien, 'them' ⁵.

The decade of the 1920s, was the decisive period for the establishment of the capitalist mode of production in Greece. However, the dominance of the capitalist mode of production in the economy was not a result of the emergence of a dominant industrial bourgeoisie but was based on the role of Greek state policies which reoriented them after the 1929 economic crisis towards industrial capital, with the state playing a crucial role in the

Rights Quarterly pp. 587-614, especially pp 589-591

⁵Pollis (1987) op. cit. p. 609, Georgiadou V. (1996) '*Secular state and orthodox church.*' in Lyrintzis C., Nikolacopoulos H. and Sotiropoulos D. (eds) (1996) '*Proceedings of the 4rth conference of the Greek society of political science.*' Athens: Themelio.

general management of the economy. At the same time, the small family land ownership in the Greek countryside and the influx of Greek refugees from Asia Minor in the 1920s which meant cheap labour in urban areas interrelating with the import of foreign funds in the form of government loans and the private investments in public work, led the Greek economy to experience a growth of finance and industrial capital. However, 'the rural and urban working classes failed to organise themselves in a politically autonomous manner but they were drawn into an intra bourgeois type of conflict which kept them politically organised in a clientelistic hierarchical manner' ⁶.

During the interwar period and after the Second World War and the Civil War 'the transition from oligarchic to mass politics resulted in a party oriented clientelism and the emergence of a 'horizontal' political organisation which weakened patronage networks ⁷. In this context the state had to legitimate its power in order to achieve long term political integration and reproduction of class character because the 'aggressive nationalism' before 1922 and the anti-communism after the civil war as ideological mechanisms had offered just a short-term legitimation of state power and political integration and they were exhausted. In order to achieve the above goal, the

⁶Mouzelis (1986) op. cit. p. 245-249

⁷ibid. p. 260

state had to orient itself towards economic development through the process of 'industrialisation' which essentially and necessarily was dependent upon private and foreign investments. However, the political and economic circumstances did not permit the attraction of productive investments from the wealthiest part of the bourgeois class. Conditions such as the political instability after the Civil War, the process of economic reconstruction of Europe, the profiteering character of the domestic bourgeois class and the dominant position of ship owners in the Greek ruling class, led to investments in international sea transportation which was more profitable than industry. Therefore, all the above factors, together with the limited internal market, delayed the process of industrialisation in Greece and made the state take an active rôle in economic development by raising loans and by expanding the public sector ⁸.

Despite emigration and the dominance of foreign capital in the 1950s and 1960s, which 'led a significant shift away from traditional industries towards the capitalist-intensive chemical-metallurgical sectors, elements of the pre-capitalist mode persisted ⁹ in several forms of petit commodity production

⁸Charalambis D. (1985) *'Army and political power: the structure of power in the post civil war Greece.'* (in Greek) Athens: Eksantas.

⁹Petras (1992)

and small agricultural units ¹⁰. On the other hand, massive urbanisation transformed small rural landowners into petit bourgeois who still retained their landed property while most of them found jobs in the tertiary sector ¹¹. Migration to urban areas resulted in a decline of the extended family and the dominance of the nuclear family, while attachment and self identity with their place of origin remained. Simultaneously, an enormous emigration of workers to factories in Western Europe occurred and the women gradually sought employment outside the home as wage workers ¹².

Moreover, the fragmented and traditional forms of representation of interests did not lead to a class structured social formation but the state was still based on clientelist forms of representation while the highly centralised and authoritarian state imposed top-down solution of social conflicts ¹³.

During this period, and despite the failure of structural changes the rates of economic growth were impressive but they were narrowly based on large scale emigration, the merchant marine remittances and income from tourism. These developments led to a high level of social mobility and the reduction of social inequalities. An additional factor, which contributed

¹⁰Vergopoulos K. (1993) in Psomiades H. J. (ed) (1993) *'Greece, the new Europe and the changing international order.'* New York : Pella, 1993.

¹¹Charalambis (1985).

¹²Pollis (1992)

¹³Sagias and Spourdalakis (1993), Pollis (1992)

to social mobility, was the continued expansion of the public sector as a mechanism for employment and social consolidation, based on the political patronage assisted social mobility¹⁴.

After the collapse of the military junta in 1974, Greek politics entered a new era towards democratisation but the structural characteristics of Greek social formation constrained the attempts of political leaders to promote the 'rational development' of 'modernisation'. A key factor of the organisation of the Greek society has been the relationship between individual and collective values and norms. In these terms, the individual or family social behaviour is not oriented towards the general good in the context of institutionalised and binding constraints ¹⁵. This is a result of the historical development of Greek social formation which determines the contemporary values and norms which prevail in Greek society both from the individual and collective aspects. Consequently, on the one hand, there is a democratic legal framework, the separation of powers is provided by the Greek constitution while a formal distinction is made between public and private spheres. Simultaneously,

¹⁴Tsoukalas and Panagiotopoulou (1994)

¹⁵Panagiotopoulou R. (1996) '*Rational individualist practices in the irrational political framework.*' in Lyrintzis C., Nikolacopoulos H. and Sotiropoulos D. (eds) (1996) '*Proceedings of the 4rth conference of the Greek society of political science.*' Athens: Themelio, p. 141.

a highly centralised state meant that there are no laws other than those adopted or codified by the state and of course, there are no rights other than those granted by the State ¹⁶. On the other hand, the personalised (both vertically and horizontally) relation between the state and citizen and the existence of a consequent weak civil society - since the voluntary associations and interest groups have been subunits of the state and most of them 'established' or activated either as extensions of the political parties or have strong party affiliations ¹⁷ - lead the persistence of 'particularistic practices and formalism' ¹⁸. In other words, governments, political parties and politicians inevitably compete in order to enhance their power and to extend the clientele ¹⁹ while the individuals consider laws not as 'impartial' and 'binding and respectful rules' but as 'impediments' which they have to confront and transcend since citizens can not exert influence collectively towards the state decision making²⁰.

In this context, each party when it governs is the embodiment of the

¹⁶Pollis (1987), p. 598

¹⁷Fakiolas R. (1987) '*Interest groups: an overview*' in Featherstone K. and Katsoudas D. K. (eds) (1987) '*Political change in Greece.*' London: Croom Helm.

¹⁸Mouzelis (1986).

¹⁹Tsoukalas and Panagiotopoulou 1994 p. 310

²⁰Tsoukalas K. (1993) '*Free riders in wonderland.*' **Greek Political Science Review** Vol. 1 pp. 5-39, and Mouzelis (1987).

organic whole, namely the Nation. The state does not separate from society and the former is itself the protector of the social whole of which the individual is an integral part due to the lack of distinction between private and public spheres ²¹.

A series of individualistic practices indicate the prevalence of the informal organisation of the social and economic relations and the resistance of individuals to accept and respect the contractual values and ignore collective norms. The insistence on self-employment and the preference for public employment are manifestations of a resistance against dependent labour forms and the concomitant negation of the market rationality ²². Furthermore, employment in the public sector is closely connected with the 'fetishisation' of education ²³. The high level of education in Greece, where an open and democratic educational system is adopted, 'constitutes the necessary formal mechanism for providing the wider population with the means to postulate for selective political protection' ²⁴. Moreover, the preference and the need for multiple employment leads every employed person to participate in more than one position in social stratification and consequently to have multiple

²¹Pollis (1987) op. cit. p. 600.

²²Tsoukalas (1991).

²³Poulantzas quoted in Tsoukalas (1993).

²⁴Tsoukalas and Panagiotopoulou (1994) op. cit. p. 314.

interests - a fact which overthrows the rules of labour discipline ²⁵.

Therefore, informal practices prevail in the Greek social formation with the parallel economy to be estimated at 30-40% of GNP, which shows that the involvement of Greeks in informal economic activity is widespread in all social classes. Vergopoulos argues that the

‘parallel economy (informal) does not result from a shrinking state role but from the reaction of society to a state that despite its announcements of deregulation proves to be increasingly patronising and asphyxiating in every day life.’²⁶

However, it is interesting to point out that the ‘secondary’ or ‘invisible’ activities in Greece do not connect with marginalised social categories but they are strategies which are adopted by individuals and families in order to maximise their income. Therefore, within this context the prevailing moral codes are consistent with free-rider practices ²⁷.

The above strategies permit individuals and families to integrate in the Greek social formation and to participate actively in the process of social reproduction adopting on the one hand, the market rationality which means to maximise their profit and on the other hand, to pursue ‘irrational’ practices,

²⁵Tsoukalas (1993) op. cit. p. 36.

²⁶Vergopoulos (1993) p. 198

²⁷Tsoukalas 1993 p. 36

which means making use of networks and personal affiliations ²⁸. Simultaneously, the weak development of welfare and social policies encourages the production and reproduction of traditional practices since the satisfaction of demands for social consumption is not provided by the state. For example, the lack of housing policy encourages dependence on family housing, or the lack of a caring social policy for children, the ill and old people is met by the reproduction of the traditional role of women ²⁹.

The preceding characteristics of Greek social formation are also related to the issue of the construction of the ethnic identity of Greeks concerning the way that Greeks see themselves as an ethnic community. In Balkan societies, contrary to the North-Western European societies, the establishment of the state was preceded by the development of the nationalist movement (ethnic consciousness) having as result the lack of established economic, political and administrative mechanisms as limits in the nationalist context of the construction of the 'imagined community' ³⁰.

On the one hand the complicated nature of Greek national identity originated from glorious past of Ancient Greece and its symbolic role as a founder

²⁸Panagiotopoulou (1996) op. cit. p. 157.

²⁹in Sagias and Spourdalakis (1993) op. cit. p. 435.

³⁰Mouzelis N. P. (1994) '*Nationalism in the late industrial development.*' (in Greek)

Athens: Themelio.

of democracy. This encouraged foreign Western powers to assist in the creation of an independent Greek state. However the doubts about the continuity of modern with ancient Greece, led to 'nascent' Greek nationalism to be centered around the nation's capacity to represent its cultural present as the legitimate heir of Hellenic glory in ways that ensured that only Greeks should be capable of 'really' and 'authentically' representing the spirit of antiquity, namely in a sense, to focus on the issue of historical continuity of Hellenism ³¹. In the process of constructing the national identity on the grounds of historical integrity not only the language but also the Orthodox religious tradition were seen as means in order to create a 'brotherless' cultural artifact on the grounds that not only were Greeks and Christians breaking free from Ottoman Muslims but they are 'the only major non-Slavic population of the Orthodox faith' ³². On the other hand, Greece had to be opposed to oriental traditions which were results of the fact that Greece was a part of the Ottoman empire for four hundred years. In this context, the construction of the Greek national identity, the core Greekness - adopting both anti-western and anti-oriental forms ³³ - was defined in terms of blood lineage and descent excluding non-Greeks as incapable of

³¹Tsoukalas and Panagiotopoulou (1993) op. cit. p. 65.

³²ibid. p. 67.

³³ibid. p. 67.

gaining access to the eternal and immortal essence of 'Greekness'.

Under these conditions, the identity of individuals is not defined by 'a coherent normative system' but as an integral part of personalised social relations including both integrating and excluding relations. Therefore, 'all forms of social behaviour are normatively relativised and effectively supplemented by 'parallel' norms, activities and projects of all sorts ³⁴ while a tendency towards 'reactive nationalism' is apparent ³⁵.

In conclusion, the above specific elements of Greek society determine the context in which the immigration phenomenon has emerged and shaped. It interweaves with broader international conditions influencing and determining the form and content of immigration in Greece, constructing the prevailing issues which formulate immigration policy and construct the immigration debate in general.

³⁴op. cit. p. 76.

³⁵Mouzelis (1994) op. cit. p. 41-45, connects the reactive nationalism with three characteristics: first the schizoid relation between the citizen and state, secondly the ambivalent national identity and the 'imaginary' transfer of any problem and thirdly, dominance of formalistic logic.

6.3 Migration as a general phenomenon in Greece.

Before exploring the interaction of the immigration phenomenon and the Greek social formation, it is worth presenting how the migration phenomenon has developed in Greece since her independence.

Generally, Greece is a country with a long tradition of emigration. The contemporary movements started after Greece's independence from the Ottoman empire and the consolidation of the modern Greek state within its present borders making emigration an important issue since the 1880s. At that time, the emigrants destinations were predominantly to the United States. As Emke-Pouloupoulou (1986) states in the period of 1890-1920 almost 600,000 Greeks emigrated, an average of about 1 in 5 of the population, or of 11.9 % in 1920 ³⁶.

In the 1920's a reduction in the numbers of emigrants occurred together with a change of destination away from the USA to Australia and Canada due to reasons such as the world economic recession, the USA's imposition of quotas on immigration and the white Australia policy after World War II, which wanted to populate Australia with European populations. During the 1930s, the emigration rate increased again with a tendency towards European countries.

³⁶The Greek population was 5,000,000 in 1920, op. cit.

After the Civil War in 1949, both political and economic circumstances led to another significant wave of emigration in the 1950s and 60s. During the 1950s, a large part of the Greek population was excluded from political participation and economic integration under a very authoritarian state. The wages were very low, depressed by high levels of unemployment and underemployment in which the former was 6.7% in 1961 or 238,000 unemployed to 3,638,000 employed and the average of underemployment was 17.1% or 634,000 ³⁷. Furthermore, the economic expansion in the European countries in the 1950s and 1960s created economic opportunities which the disadvantaged Greek economy needed to respond to. Greece needed foreign exchange because of the existence of a deficit on the balance of payments and the delay of the process of industrialisation meant that emigration could provide remittances in order to cover the deficit and also money for investment which was seen as an important element for economic development together with merchant navy and tourism. Remittances have had a great importance for the Greek economy a factor which made Greek authorities reluctant to promote a considerable influx of returnees ³⁸. Even though there has been a decline of remittances, they still play a crucial role in covering the deficit of balance of payments, according to the Bank of Greece:

³⁷Lianos (1979) in Kubat D.(ed).

³⁸Nikolinakos 1973.

in 1971, the deficit was: 1,300,000 USD and emigration remittances of 460,000 USD (over 36% of deficit)

in 1981, the deficit was 6,697,000 USD and emigration remittances of 1,081,000 USD (16.1%)

in 1991, the deficit was 12,307,000 USD, emigration remittances of 2,165,000 USD (17.6 %)

In this context, the state was involved in the post war emigration and governments encouraged the migratory movements to European countries. The first destination country was Belgium but as the migration continued during the 1960s and 1970s, the largest proportion of Greek emigrants became concentrated in Germany. A series of bilateral agreements were signed between the German government and individual countries in Western Europe such as France, Belgium, Germany and Holland ³⁹. According to Mouzelis⁴⁰ between 1968-69, 145,000 people emigrated, a number equivalent to the total increase of the Greek population. Between 1958-1976, 1,000,000 Greeks left for Western Europe, a tenth of the population.

³⁹Moussourou, L. M. (1991) *'Migration and migration policy in Greece and in Europe.'* (in Greek) Athens: Gutenberg.

⁴⁰Cited in Hadjiyannis V. (1990) *'Democratisation and the Greek state.'* in Chilcote R. H. (ed) (1990) *'Transitions from dictatorship to democracy.'* New York: Taylor and Francis.

As mentioned earlier, before the Second World War, the majority of emigrants preferred going to destinations outside Europe and also to African countries especially to Egypt where a Greek economic and cultural community had developed over a long period ⁴¹. This aspect of migration, diaspora migration is one dominant and crucial feature in Greece, which started in the late 18th century, when Greece was still under the Ottoman rule. Greeks abroad developed a mercantile empire which included areas of Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. During the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, Greek communities abroad increased and expanded especially in Egypt and Russia. Depending on political and economic circumstances the ideological content of the relationship between the Greek state as the homeland and Greeks in diaspora has been formed differently. Before 1922, the focus was on the liberation and union of Minor Asia, a part of which belonged to Turkey, with Greece. After the so-called 'Catastrophe' ⁴² in Asia Minor, the main feature was Greece's territorial integrity, through good diplomatic relations. Especially after World War II, the politics of the Greek State was to promote the view that the interests of Greeks abroad

⁴¹This community survived until the 1950s when the Suez crisis and Nasser's government forced Greeks to leave Egypt

⁴²When the Greek army was defeated and people with Greek origin were violently displaced from the area.

should be identical with Greek state interests and should legitimised the Greek state as the center of decision making under the ideology of national unity ⁴³. Recently, the Greek state has recognised Greeks abroad as citizens or permanent residents of foreign countries with different political interests, and it has been trying to encourage close relations with them in the terms of Greek cultural and ethnic ties ⁴⁴. This change of perspective does not mean that the Greek state does not want to mobilise politically the diaspora especially those Greeks in the USA and Australia ⁴⁵ in order for them to support the choices and courses of action of the 'homeland' ⁴⁶.

The third aspect of migration on which state policies have concentrated is return migration especially in 1970s and in 1980s. The returnees were mainly from the intra-European postwar migration who were poor people contrary to the images of connection of emigration and wealth (or the previous returnees from the USA) since it was a movement of workers from the

⁴³Kitromelides P. M. (1994) in Kazakos P.V. and Ioakimides P. C. (eds) (1994) *'Greece and EC membership evaluated.'* London: Pinter.

⁴⁴Moussourou (1991).

⁴⁵As Kazakos points out these diasporas are very powerful and the largest overseas communities in countries which consider themselves as immigration countries and are based on lobbying policies.

⁴⁶Kazakos P.V. and Ioakimides P. C. (eds) (1994) *'Greece and EC membership evaluated.'* London: Pinter.

Southern to Northern part of Europe. The number of returnees increased and outweighed the emigration rate due to repatriation programmes which involved the cooperation between Greek and European governments providing economic assistance for resettlement as the result of the implementation of a stricter immigration policy by Western European countries.

The political expectations of Southern European states to use the skills and wealth of returnees in order to assist indigenous economic development proved to be over ambitious. Particularly in Greek case, the reasons were the lower developmental level, the different structure of Greek industry and working conditions in conjunction with the facts that the majority of workers remained unskilled and relatively poor, or returned in ill health or old age ⁴⁷. In addition, returnees integrated in the Greek society, insisted on occupational independence and preferred to allocate their savings to living and consumption activities, factors which led to the reinforcement of the special characteristics of Greek social and economic structure ⁴⁸.

A last comment on the aspects of migration which have prevailed in Greece until recently is the case of refugees. Despite the fact that since the 1960s, a number of organisations such as International Organisation

⁴⁷Frangoulis M. (1992) *'Foreign Migrant Workers in Greece.'* Interim Report, Greece.

⁴⁸Mc Lean- Petras E. and Koussis M. (1988) *'Returning migrant characteristics and labour market demand in Greece.'* IMR Vol. XXII (4) pp. 586-608.

for Migration, World Council of Churches, International Catholic Migration Commission and the Tolstoy Foundation have set up offices in Greece in order both to give assistance to asylum seekers and refugees and to prepare the move of those with *de facto* refugee status in third countries, refugee issue has not attracted any social attention in Greece. Some exceptions were, first the influx of refugees but with Greek origin who came to Greece as result of the displacement and exchange populations among the Balkan countries in the 1920s ⁴⁹. and second was the former Greek political refugees due to the 1946-1949 civil war who were free to repatriate after 1982. According to Glitsos ⁵⁰ refugees of this category number about 40,000. Generally, it can be argued that asylum seeker and refugee migration has not been included as an important political issue in migration process in Greece, but only as an aspect of the illegal migration.

⁴⁹Greece received more than 1,000,000 refugees of Greek origin, mainly from Minor Asia while 52,000 and 387,000 people left Greece for Bulgaria and Turkey respectively in the 1920s (Moussourou). Moreover, Greece received 13,200 Armenians and 1500 'white' Russian as 'statutory refugees' (Frangoulis (1992)).

⁵⁰N Glitsos 1995 p. 160.

6.4 Immigration into Greece.

In the late 1960s and 70s, a series of changes in the migration issue occurred as Greece started being gradually transformed from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. During the same period, the rate of emigration was outstripped by the rate of return migration. Additionally, a change in emigration composition was noted, that is, the emigrants consisted of Greek technicians, who worked for Greek construction companies in the Middle East for a limited period. Simultaneously, an influx of immigrants, as asylum seekers, from Arabian countries, mainly Christian Orthodox, settled in the metropolitan area of Athens.

The first influxes of migrants came to Greece as recruited migrant workers at the suggestion of Greek Federation of Industries (SEB) which noted that some sectors of the economy suffered labour shortages that had developed mainly in chemical industries ⁵¹ but also in agriculture, in clothing and metal industries ⁵². Successive governments followed the above suggestion and allowed immigrants to enter and work according to labour market needs.

In 1974-1975, some 20,000 foreign workers arrived in Greece from Mo-

⁵¹Nikolinakos 1975.

⁵²Mc Lean - Petras and Koussis (1988).

rocco, Egypt, Philippines, Pakistan and Ethiopia. The Federation of Greek Industries saw a controlled influx of foreign workers as an essential and necessary element in order to increase productivity and achieve faster economic growth in Greece. On the other hand, the governmental support for a large influx of returnees from Western European countries was not seen as an appropriate policy because of the difference of wage levels between Greece and the other countries and it was against the interests of employers who needed a cheap and unskilled labour force ⁵³.

During the 1970s the immigration issue was absent from any public debate and both government and society seemed not to be aware of the presence of immigrants in the country. In the next decade, the influx of immigrants stabilised whilst public opinion focused on the Filipinos domestic workers from the aspect of their excessively low wages and associated them with middle class people and as a symbol of social prestige. Moreover, Greek society developed an interest in Polish immigrants but exclusively combined with a general interest in the political situation in Poland as a socialist country and not with their status as immigrants.

Simultaneously, immigration also involved immigrants from European

⁵³Kavougiaris E. (1974) in Nikolinakos M. (ed) *'Economic development and migration in Greece.'* (in Greek) Athens: Kalvos.

and North American countries in Greece but these migration movements have never been an issue in public debate. The majority of immigrants in Greece were 'legal' which means that their entry and stay or work were according to the Greek legal requirements. There was a number of illegal migrants but it was low compared to the following years ⁵⁴. According to Lynardos- Rulmond in 1987 there was a tendency for numbers of migrants to grow, while at the same time, the number of issued work permits was reduced ⁵⁵.

The year of 1989 was the year of awakening on the part of both Greek society and governments -even tacitly- that Greece is a country which received immigrants and the dominant trend is to be an immigration country, a country which is going to attract mainly 'illegal immigrants'. The above realisation was a result of the collapse of the 'communist' regimes in the Central and Eastern Europe and connected with this was the sudden influx of considerable numbers of Albanians most of whom came, stayed and

⁵⁴The legal migration also include immigrants with Greek origin either from the USA or from the Soviet Union after the political reforms in 1985. According to European Community Report in 1989 the numbers of 'foreigners' were 184,000 (45,000 with double nationality) while the illegal migrants were estimated around 30,000, Lynardos-Rulmond, P *'Foreign workers and labour market.'* 1993 (Trade Union Report) p. 14.

⁵⁵op. cit. p. 15.

worked in Greece without acquiring the legal documents.

6.5 Immigration and the Greek social context.

In this section the analysis will explore the relationship between migration and the Greek social formation, that is, how general and abstract categories of the existing organisation of social relations are specifically expressed in the Greek national context. The previous chapters explored migration as a contemporary social phenomenon which refers to movement of people who are attached to general historical and social qualities such as labour, nationality, citizenship, as a result of capitalist expansion and the prevalence of the national and nation state as the basic form of political organisation worldwide. Under this perspective, migration is seen as an aspect of social relations, as a form which is an inherent element in social organisation and its fragmented dimensions which is internationally characterised by collaboration and competition between nation states. Moreover, the discussion of the participation of Greece in capitalism and its formulation of nation state shows the conditions and the way that national and nation state in Greece has been constructed.

Even though there is no homogeneity in capitalist and nationalist development in each country and no determination of the stages of capitalism and

processes of nation state building, European developments have played an internationally crucial rôle which influences the integration of all countries in the international system. Concerning Greece, historical developments in Europe have a great impact on the perspective which is adopted in theoretical discourse but also the way which Greece considers its economic, political and social development.

Before exploring the relationship between structural characteristics of Greek social formation and immigration's prevailing aspects, it is necessary to point out that the dominant dimension on which the public debate on immigration focuses is on the 'illegality of immigrants'. Illegality which is connected first with illegal entry either under immigrant's initiative or in terms of illegal trade and second with illegal stay or work. In this context, from the very beginning it could be said that before any immigrant came in Greece, the immigrant was seen as an offender who breaks the Greek law legitimising the mobilisation of police and repressive mechanisms⁵⁶.

Bearing in mind that almost all countries are involved in the migration process depending on international and national circumstances, the question which concerns Greece, is why illegal immigration is the prevailing form of

⁵⁶The fact that most of the immigrants are illegal immigrants in Greece and issues connected with the development of Greek immigration policy such as mobilisation of certain mechanisms will be analysed in a later section.

immigration and how it is connected with the structural social characteristics, excluding factors such as external circumstances, the geographical position of Greece and 'common-sense' arguments such as 'open borders'.

Due to the industrialisation of the 1960s and the consequent close collaboration of state with the foreign capital and the state's total control of the Trade Unions, the first influx of migrants consisted of recruited immigrant workers who were employed by the capital intensive chemical industries. The application of the 'recruitment' according to the 'labour needs' was influenced by the German experience which has been also dominant in the early formulation of Greek political and legal organisation and later formulation of legal regulation towards immigrants in internal modified form. The influx of those 'unfree' migrant workers who never became an issue in public debate due to the short period of industrial take-off, the consequent absence of a working class and the complete control of the Trade Unions by the state at this period, and due to the fact that the majority of those migrants left Greece.

It can be argued that the market logic and rationality prevails in social relations but also there are other normative systems which function informally and are associated with family, kinship, patronage and clientelist relations. The characteristic of these relations is that their economic role is

interwoven with the moral, political and power roles. In this context, the coexistence of traditional and modern characteristics, or better the Greek specific organisation of social relations, -described in the previous parts- led to the prevalence of illegal migration in Greece. The fact that there had been certain circumstances internally and externally which intensified the 'numbers' of migrants who entered and stayed in Greece does not invalidate the above argument.

It is important to note that there have been attempts to 'modernise' the Greek social formation but the traditional structures are both adaptable and persistent and so have resisted all attempts at reform right up to 1997. Concerning the economic behaviour of individuals in Greece, it is characterised by maximisation of self-interest but in a peculiar way, that is, without managing to conform with internalised collective norms. The high level of a parallel and informal economy, the existence of multiple employment and the resistance to the dependent labour forms in association with a considerable level of small family based firms and the existence of agricultural and tourist sections are factors which can explain why the dominant form of migration is going to be the illegal one especially as far as the employment of immigrants or asylum seekers is concerned. Moreover, the underdevelopment of welfare policies in connection with the increasing participation of

women in waged employment- which means the erosion of traditional gender rôles or more responsibilities for women within and outside family- can be connected with the rising of employment of domestic immigrant workers with 'informal' status and reproduction of traditional roles of gender which means these immigrant workers are also women immigrants.

It is important to mention that the involvement in parallel and informal activities is considered as an acceptable form of behaviour and practice in Greece. As Tsoukalas argues the 'primary' and 'secondary' labour markets - before immigration - was not connected with a differentiated form of social integration and divisions but the participation in the 'secondary' labour market has been the result of conscious individual and family strategies in order to maximise their income and security. It has been a way of social integration of Greeks despite the economic and political problems. In this sense, it is a paradox but it can be argued that the informal status of immigrant workers can be seen as part of a process of their adjustment in the Greek society. However, the influx of immigrants and their involvement in these activities has created the conditions for a meaningful distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' labour market being similar to those of advanced capitalist countries. In this context the 'secondary' labour market is closely connected with immigrants who participate in an 'absolutely free labour

market' which functions exclusively on the regulations of the mechanisms of the market but without any protection of immigrant workers.

Additionally, the weak development of civil society has as consequence that a social movement towards the protection of immigrant's rights can emerge - and there are such organisations - but it cannot exert effective pressure on political decision-making consolidating immigrants' rights. It is more possible that the clientelist relationships are activated also in cases of immigrants and reproduce the personal affiliations particularly between employer and immigrant as employee, developing a personal contact between them instead of obeying formal norms and regulations. The result can be either the legalisation of immigrant status and cancellation of his/her expulsion or avoiding paying immigrants their deserved wages or avoiding paying penalties to authorities.

Under these conditions, it is obvious that irrespective of the reasons for immigration and the status of immigrants entry in Greece, both immigrants' and refugees' participation in 'informal' activities is a convenient way in order for the social structures to be reproduced. Especially, under the conditions of economic stagnation and rising unemployment. Irrespective of the internal needs or external factors, the existence of cheap illegal immigrant labour has given the opportunity to some firms and sections of the economy

to sustain themselves but also for the state to relax its control over the trade unions and on the levels of labour wages, resulting in the avoidance of social tensions and crises in a process of reorganisation of social relations. The Greek social formation, interwoven with a contingency of increasing number of migrants has resulted in emphasising illegal immigration despite the fact this is not the only kind of immigration in Greece. In the official language, illegal migration is the only kind of immigration, a fact which equates every immigrant with illegality into the public debate. However, the focus on this particular kind of immigration has also intensified some structural features of Greek social organisation such as the parallel economy, clientelism (personal relations and affiliations), deficiencies in the protection of rights and the low level of the welfare state.

Another dimension of immigration which is related to the perspective of this study is the construction of Greek national identity. This is an ongoing process and not something which has been established once and for all and it is affected by the entry and stay of immigrants - who are also bearers of a national identity. This combination reveals some aspects of the Greek national identity, which are obstacles to accepting immigrants as equal members of the Greek society (citizens) and prevents immigrants to acquire 'Greekness' by definition.

Immigrants, irrespectively of differences among them, constitute a 'category' as 'foreigners' and also Greeks become a 'group', a collectivity which is defined exclusively by nationality. The construction of a 'brotherless', Hellenic-Christian nation has created an 'imagined community' which is able to be reproduced by blood and in these terms any person who is not of Greek descent is by definition incapable of being a part of the Greek nation. Thus, irrespectively of how long he/she has lived in Greek society, he/she remains a 'foreigner'. At the same time, it is obvious that any person with a Greek origin irrespectively of whether he/she was born and have lived in another society for generations, remains Greek. In this sense, any immigrant in Greek society was -before coming to Greece - and remains 'foreigner' even though he/she manages to acquire officially the Greek citizenship. Under these conditions, the cultural characteristics have been based on biological endowments ⁵⁷ and have established a process of both inclusion and exclusion.

In this context, the process of homogenisation of the Greek population which took place partly through the exchange of populations between countries in the Balkans, created the image that Greek society excluded foreigners while a part of ideology of nationalism was also based on the divisions be-

⁵⁷Miles (1993) op. cit. p. 56.

tween patriots and traitors with the latter being equated with 'communists'. The above process had the aim of achieving a common identity and sense of belongingness. However, the influx of immigrants into Greek society, has provoked the ideology of nationalism with an emphasis on the exclusionary issues in order to renew the communitarian and solidarity feelings between nationals but at the same time, to justify different positions of social groups and categories in the social structure. Exclusionary norms are inherent in every nationalist ideology and in the Greek case, they are linked with the idea of 'self identity' and they affect the process of the construction of individual and collective behaviour towards immigrants. On the one hand, an immigrant can be accepted as a worker, a friend and a person in need on a daily basis, and as an exception of the broad category of immigrant. However, on the other hand, immigrants as a social group are not accepted collectively, in social and political terms, and can be seen as a 'threat' and problem for Greek society as a whole.

It is obvious that there is an inconsistency between individual and collective behaviour and also a tendency that the ideology of nationalism from the aspect of the exclusion of immigrants from the Greek society is not based on a coherent argument but is based on emotional or 'imagined' features of a national uniqueness, depending on circumstances. However, this is an ongoing

ing process which is combined with the questions which the social awareness of influx of immigrants poses concerning cultural qualities such as a traditional hospitality, non-racist attitudes towards foreigners and the existence and the rights of minorities in Greece and it is possible to compose a coherent argument for some social groups which resists the ambivalent nationalist ideology.

6.6 Greek immigration policy.

In order to explore the relationship between immigration in Greece with the structural characteristics of social formation and the ways that they synthesise and form social relations through the migration process, it is necessary to mention some points which can also connect with the way in which immigration takes place in Greece, and then to see the ways that migration from the aspect of state policies is constructed in Greece.

Firstly, the dominance of the emigration issue in Greece followed the general perception that post-war migration is a movement from the 'periphery' to the 'center' which is based on the economic needs of the advanced industrial countries. Under this perspective, not only politics in Greece but also theoretical research focused intensely on emigration issues giving little or no attention to the simultaneous transformation of Greece into an immi-

gration country. Consequently, neither have the immigration phenomenon been studied systematically nor have immigration policies been adopted in Greece until recently. In addition, the extent of emigration which involved almost every family in Greece had as consequence the prevalence of an emotional aspect of emigration which refers to the painful experience of family members' separation and an image of 'emigrant' as a suffering person. So, emigration has got an emotional and not a rational dimension in Greek society.

Secondly, West European countries have imposed strict controls on immigration with the intention to stop migration after 1973 connecting strict measures on new entries with policies of 'integration'. Simultaneously, after the third enlargement of the EC, the tendency for harmonisation of policies has been strengthened including migration policies as well.

Thirdly, the collapse of 'communist regimes in central and Eastern European countries, the war in former Yugoslavia and generally the upsurge of nationalism in the Balkans had a negative impact on the reaction of European community countries towards immigrants from these countries. Moreover, this situation has created fear and insecurity for rise of ethnic and religious conflicts and for a potential change of existing borders in Balkans.

Fourthly, under these circumstances the realisation of the transformation

of all Southern European member states of the EC into receiving countries, and at the same time, the realisation that these countries are vulnerable to 'illegal' immigrants, from Eastern European countries, Africa and Asia has occurred. In association with the impending abolition of internal borders into the EC; all these factors put pressure on the Southern European, EU member states from their Northern partners to prove to the latter that they are able to control their borders and fight against illegal immigration.

6.6.1 Migration policy and legislation.

Until the 1980s, the Greek migration policy was concentrated exclusively on emigration and return migration and on Greeks in the diaspora. No policies were adopted concerning the entry and settlement of migrants in Greece except for the adoption of short term recruitment labour programmes related firstly to migrant labour employment in chemical, marine and fishing in 1970s and secondly to female domestic workers' recruitment mainly from Philipinnes in 1980s. At the same time, socialist governments allowed the entry of migrants from Poland under the terms of bilateral agreements between Greece and Poland. Generally, it can be said that the goal of Greek migration policy was to ensure the temporariness of migrants and asylum-seekers and to facilitate the illegal employment of migrants - without the

latter holding work permits - in the informal activities of the economy.

6.6.2 Interrelation of factors as the logic of Greek migration policy.

After the dictatorship and in the process of the establishment and the consolidation of democracy, and achievement of a wider social consensus, political parties and successive governments have developed a “new sort of clientelism’ which is based on party-government-state with the government arranging salaries and wages by patronising its clients’⁵⁸. In this context, successive governments have been tolerant of the presence of the informal market and through the influx of migrant labour without any kind of bargaining power, the state could create a downward pressure on wages and control more effectively the already state controlled trade unions.

So, the seasonal needs of sectors of the economy, particularly agriculture, tourism and shipping industries have been met by the temporary stop of migrants in Greece and the survival of small firms could be extended in the conditions of increasing of competition. Furthermore, the ideology of nationalism has been constructed on the homogeneity of Greeks in terms of religion and ethnic origins with the resulting marginalisation of groups

⁵⁸D. Charalambis and Demertzis N. (1993) op. cit. p. 229

which cannot identify themselves with these two criteria. Therefore, minority groups cannot be recipients of state's preferential distribution since state cannot mediate into the society to see itself as a multi-ethnic one.

In this context and in association with changes in Europe, especially the collapse of communist regimes, the tendency for social and political integration within the EU and the stop of countries such as the USA, Australia and Canada to accept migrants who were in transit in Greece, the increase of migrants influxes in Greece occurred and the first policies towards migration were adopted.

Factors which shape the Greek immigration policy on an authoritarian basis, as mentioned earlier, have been the Greek desire to be in line with the immigration policies of its partners in the EU in order to be an equal member within the EU and for Greek borders to be recognised as external borders of the EU, the influx of Albanians⁵⁹ and the structure of social interaction on interpersonal client relations and not on typical rights and obligations of autonomous individuals, have been factors which shape the Greek immigration policy on an authoritarian basis. Thus, Greek migration policy is characterised by draconean measures⁶⁰ and an extended exercise

⁵⁹Since this migration concerns people from the Balkans, this migration becomes a part of national affairs.

⁶⁰Sitaropoulos N. (1992) *The New Legal Framework of Alien Immigration in Greece: A*

of internal and external controls towards illegal and legal migrants. However, it can be said that the inconsistency of implementation of the above migration policies has been apparent since the state mechanisms on the one hand, legitimate and implement the authoritarian policies against migrants through 'the police operation clean sweep' action without succeeding stated goal or purpose, that is to curb illegal migration especially from Albania. On the other hand, the formulation of draconean measures and controls in connection with the refusal of governments to accept the reality of increase of migration or at least existence of migrants within Greek society, governments permit the formulation of social relations on informal basis, outside the institutional context.

6.6.3 The 1975/91 Aliens' Law.

In the late 1980s, the Greek authorities decided there was a need to take action against migrants to protect first of all, the homogeneity of the Greek population and its cultural identity, secondly its national security, and finally the employment of Greek citizens⁶¹. The first measure was the recognition of *Draconean Contribution to Europe's Unification.* Tolley's Immigration and Nationality Law in Practice. Vol. 6 no. 3 pp. 86-96.

⁶¹Chlepas N. and Spyarakos, D. (1992) 'The 1975/1991 Aliens Law and the Constitution.' Athens: Sakoulas (in Greek).

the need for new legislation towards aliens in order to replace the previous law which was passed in 1929. By the Aliens' Law 1975/91 the Greek government has established officially a recruitment system in order to control the entry, residence and work of migrants in Greece.

In sum, the most important features of the law are the following: A foreign worker is dependent on her/his employer and in case of her/his dismissal, the migrant has to be deported. Any entry of migrants is explicitly connected with labour market needs.

The Ministries of Employment, Foreign Policy and Public Order are responsible for issuing the work permits according to the needs of the labour market in each region. Priority is given to those of Greek origin, EC citizens and refugees recognised by the government in order to fill a vacancy. The prohibition of the entry of an alien who holds the official requirements is justified on the following grounds:

- a) if (s)he is considered a danger for the public health,
- b) if his/her name is included in a list of undesirables (such as criminals, terrorists and immigrants), and
- c) administrative officers have the power to decide whether an alien is a tourist or a potential illegal immigrant and there is no right of appeal

against such decisions.

Other measures which are adopted are the carriers' liability, penalties and imprisonment for employers who employ an immigrant without work-permits and immediate expulsion of illegal immigrants (refoulement)⁶².

The law also includes provisions of asylum seekers and refugees and the procedures of applications for asylum . So, articles 24 and 25 state that immediately after an asylum seeker's arrival in Greece (not in transit areas) s/he must apply for asylum status. S/he also has to come from a country in which there is fear of persecution, otherwise his/her application is invalid. S/he has the right to appeal within two days and the decision is taken by police authorities within 5 days. If it is negative, she/he has to be deported immediately⁶³.

The same law grants some rights to refugees and provides the issue of a series of inter-ministerial and Presidential Decrees which cover employment and social assistance for asylum-seekers and refugees in order to put into effect the recent legislative provisions⁶⁴.

⁶²Sitaropoulos (1994) op. cit. p. 93.

⁶³Government's Gazette of the Greek Democracy, Issue 1 No. 36, 19 March 1993, pp. 358-360.

⁶⁴Sitaropoulos, N (1994) *'Greek immigration and refugee law - an update.'* Immigration and Nationality Law and Practice. Vol. 8, No. 2 pp. 57-60.

The adoption of the new law has established a recruitment system for the entry and stay of foreigners in Greek territory and regulates migrant entry according to labour needs, following the policies which are adopted by other member states in the terms of their harmonisation of policies in the EU.

The state's concern focuses on restricting the numbers of work and residence permits in order to control legal migration and on the establishment of special patrol squads and on deportation and expulsion in order to combat illegal migration but without any will to apply other provisions of the law such as punishment for employment of illegal migrants. In these terms, illegal migrants have been left without any protection and right to participate in Greek society while the police has been given extensive power by the Ministry of Public Order to organise operations such as deportations, refoulement in great secrecy, even if the secrecy of such operations is prohibited by the Greek constitution.

As far as asylum policies are concerned, Greek reservations to the General Convention which are associated with employment and free movement - the Greek asylum policies have led to the formation of the following categories:

- a) those with refugee status recognised as such by the government and until 1990 by the UNHCR,

- (b) those with de facto refugee status and refugees in transit,
- c) asylum seekers whose applications were rejected, and
- d) those who had the refugee's status but lost it, mainly those from the Eastern European countries ⁶⁵.

Officially, the first category enjoys a priority to other aliens in employment but it is behind EC citizens and those of Greek origin. In addition, they have to apply for a work permit due to the official reservations to the Geneva Convention. The second category of refugees are denied the right to work and consequently, they are forced to work illegally, mainly in the informal economy. So, under the new law, the second category can be included in the category of illegal foreign workers, and as such they can be deported without trial. As Baldwin-Edwards argues the mandate refugees 'are not eligible to apply for formal asylum as they have lived in Greece for too long'⁶⁶. Apart from some assistance programmes for migrants with Greek origin, particularly for Pontian-Greeks in order to settle and integrate in the Greek society, there is no other specific policies officially in order to

⁶⁵Emke-Poulopoulou, I (1990) *'Migrants and Refugees in Greece in the Period between 1970-1990.'* Eklogi, April-Sept. pp. 6-112 (in Greek) for a,b,c categories and Frangouli, M (1992) *'Foreign Migrant Workers in Greece.'* Interim Report, Greece.

⁶⁶Baldwin-Edwards, M. (1995) *'Immigration into Greece.'* unpublished work.

assist migrants to integrate in Greece. Finally, the new regulations for the acquirement of citizenship, requires ten years of residence in order for a foreigner to be granted Greek citizenship, 'with the application examined five years after declaration of intention to naturalise' while for spouses of a Greek national, the application can only be made after five years of residence in Greece⁶⁷.

In sum, it can be said that the Greek government migration policies have intended to harmonise its policies with other member states and to enter into the Schengen Group through strict legislation and extended police operations and the external and internal controls on migrants including the 'operations sweep-clean' and not permit migrants to re-locate themselves in the EC member states. Furthermore, it has been intended not to encourage permanent settlement of migrants, except for those with Greek origin, to involve migrants in the employment in the informal economy disabling migrants and nationals to control their actions through typical institutional procedures. Finally, it can be argued that migration especially from Albania is perceived as a part of foreign policy and the new legislation ignoring the majority of illegal migrants without application of any legalisation programme is connected with the bilateral relations between Greece and Alba-

⁶⁷Baldwin-Edwards, M op. cit.

nia not only in terms of the Greek minority of Albania but also in the terms of broader political and economic relations between them.

Concerning the achievement of the above goals, it can be argued that the Greek migration policy constitutes a part of EU policy, in which EU citizens have the right to move freezing out the 'aliens'. It adopts authoritarian policies and exercises extensive controls over migrants' entry and stay in Greece, while it sees asylum-seekers as potential economic migrants. Simultaneously, the concentration of migration policies as far as illegal migration is concerned on police and army action have created a hostile environment for the relationships between nationals and migrants, in which migrants have been seen as criminals and a potential 'threat' to Public Order. Moreover, the state's mediation has permitted the employer's control on illegal migrant workers since the former have potentially been able to denounce illegal migrants breaking up the informal basis of their relations accordingly to their atomised interests without any legal consequences for employers' involvement in illegal activities.

In these terms, migration policies have led to the development of relations between nationals and migrants exclusively in the market without imposing any rational rules in their relations. As a consequence, migrants have been exposed to official and unofficial arbitrariness and marginalisation

while irrational behaviour and practice has emerged in the Greek society intensifying the limits of the function of the extra-institutionalised social and political system. In sum, it can be said that state migration policies have created the conditions under which nationals and migrants, have not been able to develop social relations.

6.7 Aliens and migrants in Greek territory.

As a result of the formulation and implementation of the migration policies migrants in Greek territory are categorised according to the way by which they enter into Greece, and according to their origin. Both criteria determine immigrants status and their rights. In addition, there is also a categorisation of Greeks abroad according to official terminology in connection with the different formulation of state policy towards them. The criteria are based on where they live and on how long they live abroad.

Firstly, the general categories of aliens are EC citizens, immigrants from other advanced capitalist countries, legal and illegal immigrants from other countries (African, Asian, Eastern European), asylum-seekers and refugees. Secondly, Greeks abroad can be categorised according to state terminology

⁶⁸ as follows:

⁶⁸Moussourou, L. M. (1991) *'Migration and migration policy in Greece and in Europe.'*

1. An emigrant is a Greek who has lived abroad more than one year.
2. (S)he who is a permanent resident in a foreign country (Apodemos) and
3. (S)he of Greek descent, a patrial which means second or more generations residence in a foreign country with dual or foreign nationality.

The categories which have priority and preference according to the Greek Constitution are EC citizens and those of Greek descent. The Greek Constitution also gives preference to Greeks from Eastern European countries, who can return to Greece regardless of whether they were political refugees or patrials (they are also eligible for Greek citizenship). In addition, immigrants from advanced industrial countries do not have particular problems to work and settle in the Greek territory. Contrary to the other groups of immigrants, they are welcome by the state because the majority are highly qualified technicians or executives who are employed by large companies regardless of competition with natives in this category of jobs. The categories of immigrants which have been considered as problematic by the government immigration policy are those from Eastern Europe, (excluding these of Greek origin), African and Asian countries, and asylum-seekers and refugees.

Athens Gutenberg (in Greek).

6.7.1 Legal migrants.

Legal immigrants⁶⁹ are regarded as 'guestworkers' that is as foreign workers for a limited time connected with the labour market needs. The majority of them work in service sectors and agriculture irrespective of their skills or their level of education. In most cases, Greece has not signed bilateral agreements with their countries of origin which means that legal foreign workers have to pay for social security but when they leave Greece, the state welfare organisations do not have any obligation to give the benefits back to them ⁷⁰. In the mid 1980's and 1990's, the immigration issue has become a much more salient issue in Greece, and the Greek government has attempted to take measures to exercise control over their entry on a coherent and stricter basis⁷¹. New legislation attempted to create a system which is very similar to the German idea of Gastarbeiter in order to control them.

An immigrant worker can enter Greece and work for a particular employer

⁶⁹According to the Ministry of Employment foreign workers in Greece in 1996 were 28,370 : 19,000 Europeans, 20,162 Africans, 1,308 Americans, 5,907 Asians and 323 Australian. Moreover, most of them are employed in services (8,071) and hotels and restaurants (8,032) while 4,404 work in telecommunications and transport and 3,128 in industry. Finally, foreign workers who work in the shipping industry are estimated to be around 10,000. (Eleftherotypia 9/5/96).

⁷⁰Moussourou (1991).

⁷¹Sitaropoulos op. cit. p. 78.

in a special job for a limited period contract. A work permit is necessary and automatically means a residence permit. Up to five years residence, on each year renewal of work-permit is necessary and issued before the foreign workers entry in Greece. After 10-15 years legal residence, the work-permit is renewed every two years and despite the fact that the immigrant worker has the right to join with his/her family, the latter do not have the right to work. After 15 years legal residence and 120 months social security payments, an immigrant work permit can be issued for an unlimited period. The Minister who is responsible for the above decision is the Minister of Public Order and the decision depends on the Minister's discretion. Moreover, it is possible that some categories of foreigners do not need the acquisition of work permits. Such categories are defined by a common decision of Ministers of employment and public order according to seasonal or economic needs ⁷².

6.7.2 Illegal migrants.

Nowadays, by estimations, the largest groups of immigrants are the illegal ones⁷³. They either enter into the Greek territory for three months with

⁷²Chlepas and Spirakos op. cit. p. 12. In 1992 bilateral agreements between Greece and Albania have provided a number of work permits for seasonal Albanian workers in Greece.

⁷³The estimations claim that there are around 500,000 illegal immigrants in Greece with the majority coming from Albania. According to the Ministry of Public Order in

appropriate requirements, usually with visas and over-stay, or enter illegally by sea or by land since Greece's geographical position, with a long coastline and mountainous borders, makes their entry easier and control of borders more difficult⁷⁴. In addition another illegal group of immigrants can be those who worked as ship crews and due to the economic crisis, they disembarked and stay in Greece without documents. As well, an illegal trade of immigrants has taken place, people who arrange not only immigrants' illegal entry, but also find a job for immigrants against a remuneration for their services to the immigrants. According to the Minister of Public Order ⁷⁵, Greece has become one of the major centres of illegal trade immigration while a network of Greeks and foreigners is involved. Illegal immigrants also find jobs as unskilled workers in service sectors on a temporary basis, since 1998 72,388 refoulements of Albanian migrants took place. Since 1992 the number of deportation of Albanians is claimed to be 1,500,000. (To Vima 2/8/1998).

⁷⁴According to police statistics during the first six months of 1998 6,788 illegal entries occurred from the mainland borders with Turkey (Iraqis, Bagladeshis and Pakistanis), 1,643 illegal entries from the Greek-Yugoslavian borders (Romanians) and 815 from the Greek-Bulgarian borders (Bulgarians). In total 10,000 illegal entries were reported without including entries from Albania.

⁷⁵In illegal trade migration, smugglers follow certain routes either through Turkey or through Syria and Lebanon. Migrants have to pay from 500 to 3,000 US dollars. According to the Greek authorities estimations the smugglers profit can be 1,000,000 US dollars for every time that they carry migrants.

they usually offset seasonal needs in informal economy. Their wages are very low and they do not enjoy any rights. They have difficulties in renting houses and usually they share a room with other immigrants in old houses or in cheap hotels, paying a large amount of money. It is obvious that they are exploited by employers, and by landlords, while they live under the threat of expulsion.

6.7.3 Asylum seekers and refugees.

The main flow of refugees comes from African countries (Ethiopia and Somalia) and from the Middle East while the refugees from Eastern Europe are not considered anymore as refugees. Refugees from the Middle East have shown a non substantial increase especially from Iran and Iraq. They can be categorised by their religions, (Christians and Muslims), or by ethnicity (Kurds, Iranians, Iraqis and Turks). In Greece there is a decline of numbers of asylum-seekers and a low recognition rate⁷⁶. Refugees and asylum-seekers consider Greece as the nearest safe country but at the same time, they prefer a third country after a short stay (in 1991: 6,000 refugees

⁷⁶According to a report of the Greek Council for Refugees, in the first six months of 1996 it was 14.49 % (calculated for the number of persons and not the cases.

in Greece)⁷⁷. This is because of the vulnerability of their legal status and of difficulties which they face in employment and settling in the Greek society.

However, in recent years the temporary stay of refugees in transit has become longer because the countries they wish to go, such as Germany have decided to reduce the numbers that are accepted in their territories. Consequently, the refugees' stay lasts longer with a great tendency for permanent settlement in Greece, thus forming a vulnerable and exploited group which lives on the margins of the Greek society.

6.7.4 Migrants with Greek origin.

The last category of immigrants ⁷⁸ are those with Greek origin from Eastern European countries mainly Greek- Pontians and Greek Albanians. The migratory movement of Greek-Pontians who are Greek descendants from Pontos, had started after the fall of Constantinople (1453). In the 20th century, due to persecutions by the Turks and the Stalin regime, they were finally forced to settle in the Central Asian Republics of the former Soviet Union. Greece has received several waves of Greek-Pontians since 1918 but

⁷⁷Black R. (1992) *'Livelihood and vulnerability of foreign refugees in Greece.'* Kings College, Occasional paper No. 33.

⁷⁸According to Black, despite the fact that Greek-Pontians are displaced persons the Greek law does not consider them as refugees but as immigrants with Greek origin.

the peak period of their influx started in 1988 owing to the uncertainty and ethnic conflicts in these areas. Their nationality varies from Greek or Soviet to others⁷⁹, but in 1988 all Greek-Pontians were given the same status as those of the Greek origin, which means that they enjoy special facilities and priority in employment and have more rights than aliens according to the Greek Constitution. It is estimated that 47,000 Greek-Pontians have arrived in Greece between 1988 and 1993, while it is expected that more than 100,000 will arrive in the next few years⁸⁰. Moreover the Greek-Pontians have some economic assistance from the government in order to settle and integrate in the Greek society. There has been the establishment of some reception centers, special organisations and particular offices in different ministries. In spite of the official assistance towards them, they face similar problems as the other groups of immigrants such as high unemployment, exploitation in employment, housing and language problems, since they speak a distinct dialect of Greek called Greek Pontian. This hinders their process of adjustment in Greek society. The fundamental difference between Greek-Pontians and other groups of immigrants is that the former are seen by the

⁷⁹They are coming from Russia, Georgia and Central Asian republics of Kazankhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan and their numbers are estimated around 600,000.

⁸⁰Paraskevopoulou C. (1993) *'The socio-economic integration of Pontians in Greek society.'* Conference proceedings Dublin.

state policy as Greek and as a good way to re-populate certain areas of Greece for example Thrace. The government wishes to divert them from areas which have a high rate of emigration and minority problems, giving to them more economic assistance to settle out of Athens and Thessaloniki.

The other group of Greek origin consist of Greek-Albanians, the so called North Epirots. In 1991, an unexpected massive influx of these in Greece occurred which made Greek government be worried about possible official Albanian pressures on members of the Greek minority to leave Albania ⁸¹. Nowadays, the majority of Greek-Albanians come to Greece, working on temporary basis and then returns to Albania. Initially, there were established certain refugee-camps near the Greek borders with Albania created with intention to accept and assist North Epirots but meanwhile, the massive continuing influx of Albanian nationals is seen as constituting a major problem for the Greek authorities since Greek governments wish Greek-Albanians to stay in Albania. The only assistance towards Greek-Albanians has been the issue of documents which confirm their Greek origin in order for them to enter Greece easily.

⁸¹Clogg R. (1992) *'A concise history of Greece.'* Cambridge University Press p. 13.

6.8 Numbers of immigrants and their country of origin.

It is necessary to note that the following data on the numbers of foreigners in Greek territory, are not reliable because statistics on immigration are very problematic in Greece. Firstly, to have statistics for their numbers is difficult, due to the nature of illegal immigration. Secondly, the National Statistic Survey - the official organisation responsible for the statistics - collects the data on population of foreigners, through information from the Ministries which issue work or resident permits. Another problem is that Greek Surveys refer to foreigners according to their citizenship which means that they include also those of Greek origin (Greeks from America, Turkey, Egypt, Cyprus) with dual nationality or foreign citizenship. Finally, even the data provided by European resources, such as the Council of Europe and the Eurostat, for legal residents in Greece, are also not reliable because they come from different Greek resources and in many cases with double entries ⁸². Therefore, we cannot have accurate and reliable data for the size of foreign population in Greece and it is likely that the data are inconsistent due to the variety of sources.

⁸²Emke- Pouloupoulou and Frangouli.

The majority of illegal immigrants come from Albania while other main countries of origin of legal and illegal immigrants are Egypt, Ethiopia, Philippines, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Poland. The number of Albanians who have arrived in Greece in the last three years is estimated at about 500,000 or 20,000-30,000 per month. In 1992, 202,996 Albanians entered Greece while 201,064 were deported by refoulement procedures. However, in recent years their numbers are estimated to be around 200,000.

The Polish population is estimated at 60-70,000 or up to 100,000 according to the Federation of Construction workers. 15,000 out of the above number desire to settle permanently in Greece. Other groups are 55,000 Egyptians (35,000 illegal), 500 Ethiopians (mainly women), 15-40,000 Filipinos (85 percent women), and 2,500 Kurds (numbers increase during summer due to seasonal work). Moreover, the numbers of foreigners who work on Greek ships, under the 'Marine Pension Fund' are 10,085, while the illegals are estimated between 12,000 and 40,000.

The numbers of legal and illegal immigrants is estimated by the Ministry of the Public Order, at about 500,000. In 1990, the population of legal aliens was 184,000, but the portion of illegal immigrants was estimated at only about 30,000. One reason, for the above difference in the data, may be that underestimations or overestimations of foreigners size in Greece are

used by political groups to justify different policies towards immigrants. For instance, the previous lack of action to monitor their influx or the present adoption of strict measures against them have been based on the statistics. Another possible reason is that the first massive influx of Albanians occurred a year later. After a two year period, the number of illegal immigrants had reached 300-400,000.

As far as migrants' occupation is concerned, 90% of foreign workers do not have a work permit and illegal immigrants constitute an average of 10 % of the active population and an average of 20 % of the wage-paid workers⁸³. The majority of Egyptians are skilled workers in fishing while, in the same sector, Poles are employed as unskilled workers, mainly on temporary basis. In agriculture, livestock farms and construction, Poles and Albanians have the highest participation. Philipinas and Ethiopians work in domestic services and hospitals. Pakistanis and also Philipinos work as ship crews. Finally, a large number of foreigners of various origins work in tourism. Women from Thailand, Africa and Eastern European countries work in bars and other entertainment business. The work permits are usually

⁸³According to a research conducted by the Aegean University concerning migrants wages in the greater region of Athens the majority of migrants do not have a stable wage rate and a high proportion of them have very low wages (under 5,000 drhs) Eleftherotypia 14/5/1998.

issued for certain occupations such as hospitals, domestic service and fishery

84.

6.9 Conclusions.

The unfolding of the migration process in Greece, as an example of a specific context shows that migration is a social phenomenon which is peculiar to the capitalist organisation of social relations. Its content includes the basic characteristics of the historical social practice of the country of reception and simultaneously its existence depends on specific national conditions. That means that migration develops in a particular way depending on ways that each national state has incorporated and constructed capital relations in its confined territory and the contradictions and conflicts which emerge in the process of the reproduction of capitalist relations.

On the one hand, Greek migration policy includes the general elements of migration as a form of social relations in a capitalist society such as capital and labour, citizens and non-citizens, nationals and foreigners. On the other

⁸⁴As we mentioned earlier a problem is that there is no coherent official selection of data, and the above data come from publications of ad hoc research groups, Ministries estimation, individual authors and immigrant organisations K.E. 15/11/1992, 11/7/1993, H.K. 20/6/1993, To Vima. 8/12/1991, 29/9/1992, 29/11/1992, Eleftherotypia 9/5/1996 Emke-Poulopoulou (1990), Frangoulis (1992).

hand, it can be said that the particular way in which migration issues emerge is related to the specific social conditions and organisation of social relations in Greece. So, the formal and the informal forms of social relations which co-exist and their contradictions in association with the particular position of Greece in the international context are reflected in, and construct, the Greek migration process.

In these terms, the exclusion of groups and their economic and social subordination which characterises the construction of national states, is also reflected in the Greek migration case but the forms and selection of these groups depend on the specific features which prevail in Greek society. Capital relations are also an internal part of the Greek national context, but the informal means of its implication and the resistance against market rationality as well as the problems and conflicts which arise due to these specific arrangements are also reflected in the migration process and the informal position of migrants in Greek society.

In sum, the focus has been on the specific way that Greece constructs migration and the ways that Greek migration is influenced by the international and regional forms of social relations. Moreover, this chapter has analysed migration policy and migration flows in Greece and the categories which are used in relation to migrants to show the rôle of the Greek state as a political

power which is processing and constructing social relations according to its broader rôle in society.

In the next chapter, and through migrants' experiences, this study will explore the ways that the migration process is constructed in Greece and also how this reflects structural characteristics which direct social practice towards the reconstruction and re-organisation of social relations in Greece.

Chapter 7

Social relations at the individual level: The process of being constructed as a migrant in Greece.

7.1 Introduction.

In the previous chapters, the analysis has focused on the theoretical examination of migration as a social phenomenon in association with concrete developments in contemporary migration within international, regional and

national contexts. A major point of this thesis is that migration research should pay attention to migration as a form and a process of social relations in order to analyse migration as a differentiated dimension but simultaneously as a part of social totality. This has been seen as a prerequisite in the study of migration since it can grasp not only the complexity and the fragmentation of social reality, which creates great difficulties in an explanation of migration, but also to follow migration as an ongoing process which involves simultaneously historical and changing patterns within a particular social context.

So far, the exploration of migration has concentrated on contemporary contexts which constitute the framework in which migration happens. In this sense, migration has been studied from the most general context, the international, the more specific context, the national one with reference to the Greek case. The previous chapter firstly considered the ways that social relations are organised, secondly, the experience and the perception of migration, thirdly, the governments' immigration policy and finally, some general characteristics of migrants in Greece. In this chapter, the interest will turn towards the ways that social relations are created and developed in relation to migration in Greece. This exploration can be based on people's experience as migrants in Greek society and their social relations with Greeks

as a process in which state's officials and policies have a major rôle to play. It can be said that when people move from one country to another they just define their movement in general terms, as the change of place of their residence, by moving to a foreign country, but when they do move they find a particular way under which they are defined as migrants and the realisation of being a migrant starts. Simultaneously, with migrants views and experiences, this study will refer to relationship among social values, organisations and mechanisms in association with migration, exploring the ways that social relations are forming in the Greek context.

However, before identifying how migration experience is constructed by specific conditions in the Greek context, and how other forms of social relations are revealed in and through migration, it is worth referring to some broader methodological points on which the empirical work is based.

7.2 Methodological points.

Following Ollman's argument¹ about Marx's process of abstraction in connection with levels of generality, is possible to comprehend particular elements and qualities about people's activities in general or specific historical social contexts. So far this study of migration has been concerned with three

¹Ollman (1993) op. cit. pp. 40-68.

out of seven levels of generality. According to Ollman's presentation, these are six levels of generality of which the following three are relevant to this study :² the second level refers to general qualities of people, their activities and products in contemporary capitalism; the third is everything which is connected with appearance and functioning in capitalist society and the fourth refers to all common qualities which exist in class societies. All the levels of generality overlap and construct set of alternatives and also they pose preconditions in the reproduction of the conditions of existence. It can be argued that migration is related with all these levels of generality but this perspective, allows research to focus on more than one levels, dealing with migration as appropriate in order to reveal its specific elements. Thus, this study concentrates on the first and second level of generality such as people/migrants as unique individuals and their activities in a contemporary national context in order to connect their beliefs, attitudes and intentions with specific elements of the other levels as they are developed in the particular national context.

In addition to the levels of generality, another important aspect of method-

²The first level refers to whatever is unique about a person and a situation; the fifth level to human society - common qualities as part of the human condition and the last two levels - more abstract and general than the previous ones - to the animal world and nature.

ology³, is that of the vantage point, which is useful in the study of migrant groups construction. The construction of migration experience, in Greece, can be seen from different viewpoints. Migration social relations can be seen from different sides, such as those of migrants, society, and state, and also migration process can be examined through economic, political, and social processes in Greek society.

Since this study has already concentrated on the ways that migration has acquired its specific characteristics in particular historical context, at this stage of analysis the adoption of the vantage point means that this study can continue to specify the conditions under which migrants live and work and consequently the specific ways that they experience 'migration'. In association with the levels of generality, the migration process in a particular social context can be explored from the vantage point of certain mechanisms, from the vantage point of people as nationals and foreigners or migrants in order to understand the ways that social relations interact and change. Therefore, the empirical research presented in this Chapter has not the purpose to provide evidence for a particular migration theory but rather to explore the ways that people experience their conditions of life and the ways that a variety of people's historical and social experiences such as class,

³For the vantage point in Marx's dialectic methodology see Ollman (1993).

nationality, gender and 'race' emerge and construct their social relations in the migration process in a specific context, that is, in Greek society.

7.3 Migration research in Greece.

Although the immigration phenomenon in Greece has a history of at least 20 years, little research has been done on immigration to Greece until the beginning of the 1990s. Greek society, mass media and politicians realised that Greece was going to transform 'rapidly' from an emigration to an immigration country as a result of the first sudden inflows of Albanians. At the same time, trade unions, universities and other organisations developed an interest in immigration research. Most of the research ⁴ has focused on

⁴There is research which refers generally to migration (including refugees and migrants with Greek origin) to Greece such as X. Petrinioti and her collaborators (1993), Emke-Pouloupoulou (1990) Moussourou, L.M. (1991) and Black, R. (1992) for foreign refugees in Greece. Other research is related to migrant workers in Greece elaborated by P. Lynardos-Rylmon for the LNE (Labour institute), Lynardos-Rylmon P. (1993) '*Foreign workers and labour market in Greece.*' (in Greek) Athens: Trade Union Report, and D.A. Kastoridas, Katsoridas D. A. (1994) '*Immigrant workers in Greece*' (in Greek) Athens: Iamos. Moreover I. Psimmenos investigated the migration to Greece from Balkan countries, Psimmenos I. (1995) '*Migration from the Balkans*' (in Greek) Athens: Glorybook- Papazisis and B. X. Karydis analysed the migrants criminality in Greece, Karydis B. X. (1996) '*Criminality of immigrants in Greece.*' (in Greek) Athens: Papazisis. Finally, G. Lazos explored the

specific groups of immigrants, and the major criteria for selection of migrant groups in research has been the nationality of immigrants⁵, and their position as illegal migrant workers in the informal sector.

Simultaneously, there was an increased research interest concerning Greek society's attitudes towards foreigners or in general the 'other', and the rôle of state agencies, especially police and media, in the process of constructing the image of migrants in association with the prevailing image the Greek society has of itself.

sexual exploitation of women including the foreign prostitutes in Greece, Lazos (1997).

⁵Kassimati, K. and her collaborators research on Pontian migrants from the former Soviet Union, Kassimati K. (1993) *'Pontian migrants from the former Soviet Union.'* (in Greek) Athens: Ministry of Culture and Panteion University (2nd Edition), Romanisayn, K. for undocumented polish workers in Athens, Romaniszyn K. (1996) *'The invisible community: Undocumented Polish workers in Athens.'* *New Community* Vol. 22 (2) pp. 321-333, E. Markora and A.H. Sarris for Bulgarian illegal migrants in Greek labour market (1997), Markora E. and Sarris A. H. (1997) *'The performance of Bulgarian illegal immigrants in the Greek labour market.'* (unpublished), and Barjada, K for Albanian migrants in Greece (1997), Barjaba K. (1997) *'Between social integration and exclusion: Albanian immigrants in Greece.'* (unpublished).

7.4 Structure of the presentation of empirical work.

This chapter started with hypotheses of the research and some comments about methodology. It focuses on people's experience as migrants in Greece. Migrants perceptions and comments are starting points in order for the researcher to explore their experience in connection with structural characteristics of Greek society. Thus, it explores the ways that Greek society has formed the migration process within the specific national context and in interaction with migrants' questions and posits a prevailing or revealing elements about its image and its function.

The logic and actions of state agencies, such as the police and the army, and the logic of organisations, non-governmental and voluntary, is presented in order to show how the migration issue is presented to the Greek people and how this influences social relations in Greece. The experience of migrants focuses on issues such as the establishment and meaning of migrant networks, their employment and some general social patterns relating to migrants interaction with Greeks and all together these show the migration process as forms of social relations. The final part will develop some conclusions related to the hypotheses and relate the empirical work to the legalisation process of migrants in Greece.

7.5 Research hypotheses.

First of all, a crucial and basic assumption of this research is that migration is a process and a form of social relations. To the extent that migration can be analysed as a form of social relations, then the empirical research should focus on the ways that people experience migration through the construction of social relations in a new environment depending also on the formal side of organisation of social relations in a specific context.

Given the historical organisation of social relations as they were analysed in previous chapters, the formal side can be said that it is the state - in abstract terms - which mediates between social groups and their relations since it imposes the rule of money and the rule of law. However, any particular national state depending on peculiar historical conditions, in processing and forming social relations in its boundaries in a distinct way. In these terms, this research's interest is to investigate first, the mechanisms and institutions which play a crucial rôle in migration and their results, and second, the ways that social values and ideologies which prevail in Greek society, emerge and appear in, and through the process of migration in Greece. Under this perspective, the state mechanisms which are involved in migration and the functions of voluntary organisations are viewed as sufficient elements to explore the ways that migration is constructed in Greek society.

Another related assumption is developing on the basis that although there are migrant communities such as people from African countries since 1970s and people from Philippines and Poland for fifteen years, they have lived, in a sense, invisible from Greek society, that is without any interaction, except from the world of work. A crucial aspect of this invisibility is that if migration can be seen as a form of social relations simultaneously can also be seen as a form of 'non-social' relations.

A final assumption refers to the process of constructing an image and a broader category of a migrant group in Greek society with which all immigrants are identified and which forms the terms of the public debate in Greece. It is revealing from present circumstances that there is an emergence of such a general category which is on two criteria. The first is connected with illegal entry and settlement and the second is identified with migrants from Albania.

7.6 Methodology.

Qualitative research has been chosen in order to explore migrants' experience in Greek society for two reasons. The first is lack of any reliable and accurate statistical data, a fact which prohibits the selection of a valid statistical sample of migrants which can be representative of their numbers in order to

verify hypotheses and illustrate the situation of illegal and legal migrants in Greece. The second, and most important, reason is that this study intended to explore the ways that social relations are formed, and not to use empirical research as evidence for a new migration theory.

This research was based on semi-structured and in-depth interviews with migrants in order to permit respondents to express themselves freely. In the beginning the researcher explained them the reasons and the purpose of this research while during the interview, respondents were asked to discuss issues which they felt were important. They discussed the history of their decision to migrate, the conditions under which they left their country, and the conditions of staying and working in Greece. During the interview questions were posed about their contact with public bodies such as local government, health services and other social services. Finally, there were questions on their intentions for the future. At the very beginning, the respondents were given assurances about the confidentiality of their identities and the information they provided.

Some of them did not want the interview to be recorded, and their request was respected. The number of respondents were 29 (11 women) and included migrants with various statuses (legal, illegal, undocumented, 'not

recognised refugees') and with various origins⁶. The interviews took place in two different regions, in Athens⁷, the capital of Greece, and in Calamata, a town in the South-West of Greece with population of 50,000 inhabitants. Athens was chosen since it is the main destination of all immigrant groups. Calamata was chosen because its economy is based on agriculture, tourism, construction and a few industries which can employ migrants throughout the year, consequently, there is a considerable number of migrants in this area and from a variety of countries. Since the research did not intend to focus on a specific national group, it was important to have samples consisting of migrants with various origins. A reason for choosing a small town, related to the above, is that in such towns, migrants presumably develop closer relations with locals, than in a big city. Furthermore, the researcher had personal relations in Kalamata, and this facilitated the approach of respondents.

The majority of interviews were in Greek but in cases where the respondents could not express themselves clearly interpreters have been used (usually their compatriots).

⁶Albania, both Greeks and Albanians, Poland, Kenya, Egypt, Iraq, Ucrania, from the former Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania.

⁷A number of interviews in Athens took place under the TSER project(1998) 'Muslim Voices: The Greek case' led by S. Chtouris and I. Psimmenos

The rôle of knowledgeable gatekeepers⁸ was important and occasionally as they were friends with the respondents they encouraged them to tell their stories without fear of moral judgements or publicity. But first of all they persuaded them that the researcher was not an official in public service and did not have any contacts with the police. The crucial point was that respondents had the confidence to express themselves and no pressure was put on them when they wanted to hide something. Points made by the knowledgeable gatekeepers before or after the interview and when there were considered as important they were included later in the notes as secondary information. Finally, as far as places of interviews were concerned the interviews took place in respondents homes, friends' homes, the researcher's home and public places and in each case were chosen by the respondents.

7.7 Brief presentation of reasons for migration and for choosing Greece.

Respondents had expressed a variety of reasons for migration. People from Eastern European countries usually pointed out that they migrated because of the economic and political problems which the collapse of the communist regime caused and also of the opportunity to travel free. Albanian respon-

⁸A snowball procedure was chosen due to the circumstances.

dents said that the main reasons were to find a job, to earn more money and to avoid disturbances in Albania. Albanians with Greek origin pointed out that the main reason was to be back to homeland and rejoin their relatives. Another reason for one respondent was the medical treatment which he needed on a daily basis. Armenian respondents migrated due to the war and economic and political difficulties in their country and for them it was a family decision in order for their children to live in peace.

Bulgarian interviewees migrated in order to work and save money to be used to cover further travelling expenses. Egyptians said that the reasons were connected with a love affair, adventure, to be away from family and to live in a democratic country. Kenyan respondent migrated in order to study. Iraqi respondents in order to avoid persecution for political reasons and they were asylum seekers, while Polish interviewees wanted to find a job and to have contacts with people from other countries. Finally, Romanian interviewees migrated in order to find a trendy and fashionable job.

The reasons for choosing Greece were the following:

- Proximity to their country, a European country.
- Relations with Greeks in their country of origin.
- Arrangement by illegal traders.

- The first safe country to ask asylum.
- Love affair with a Greek.
- Easy opportunities to cross borders or easy way to obtain forged documents (especially people from Albania and countries from the former Soviet Union in which Greek communities exist and people with Greek origin also migrate to Greece.

7.8 People's experience as migrants in processing and forming social relations in national context.

7.8.1 Status and conditions of stay in Greece.

All respondents, irrespectively of their status feel vulnerable and worried about both their status and stay in Greece. Migrants have experienced Greece as not an organised country without strict implementation of laws and as a consequence migrants have no clear guidelines about how to act and behave and have to find their own means of survival. This can be said to be connected partly with the status under which they entered Greece that is, without legal permission of the state and partly with most of them

employment in informal sector. They have been left completely alone in their stay in Greece for a long time⁹.

Under these conditions, most migrants make use of some co-patriots or of some Greeks who have already known from their country of origin for example, Egyptians, Greek-Albanians and Russians. In other words, they attempt to establish some personal connections in order to survive in a society in which their presence was, from the very beginning, defined as 'illegal'.

Their conditions of life are characterised by the prevailing norms widespread in Greek society, that is, the absence of public character of rights, on abstract grounds the governments' inability to formulate and implement long-time plans and generally the organisation of social and political relations on personal clientelist basis.

However, this causes the migrants to be very weary and cautious of contacts with people they do not know, for example one of the respondents said:

'Independently of your behaviour, if you are a foreigner you have to be invisible, you cannot even help other people because any contact with the police means deportation for you'

⁹Most of the respondents are residents for more than two years.

(Egyptian, male, legal, 32).

while another stated that

'A person is equal to his documents. If he does not have papers
he does not exist'

(Greek Albanian, male, illegal 20).

Many other respondents had similar views. For example:

'I have got money and I would like to travel in Greece and to
meet Greeks but I do not do that because I am afraid of the
police'

(Bulgarian, male, illegal 22).

'I do not have any help, I am alone and I fight for my life. I can
not ask protection from anyone'

(Polish, male, illegal, 26).

'Greece is not a well organised country like Germany, in Greece
you are left alone to survive'

(Rumanian, female, illegal, 26).

7.8.2 The legitimation of repressive mechanisms in migration process.

Based on the above statements it is obvious that another crucial element, in the migration process in Greece, is the rôle of repressive agents such as the army and police and the absence of protection towards migrants. At this stage, it is necessary to connect migrants' experience with the rôle of repressive agencies such as the army (to guard the mainland borders) and police (to exercise internal controls and refoulement and 'clearing operations'). As mentioned earlier, the responsible Ministry for migration issues is the Ministry of Public Order and during empirical work the researcher had the opportunity to talk with officers from the army and police and she had access to some official reports which refers to migration.

It is useful to present the main logic under which the army and the police take action against migrants, in order to understand the ways that the migration process and relations are constructed in Greece. The main perspective which is adopted by the army and the police is that repressive and preventive measures should be taken in order firstly to avoid bad consequences on the Greek nation and State and secondly to prevent migrants from exploiting advantages in terms of a legal migration.

7.8.3 Army's and police's logic on migration.

First of all, the army and the police emphasise that a migration policy should be oriented towards an association of economic benefits and maintenance of ethnological/national characteristics. Greek identity is in danger due to the fact that migrants illegal entry and their numbers assumed to be directed by other countries policies to change the religious and ethnic balance in the Balkans or to create minority problems in Greece. Political choices and policies both in Greece and in European Union are exercised to reduce immigration. Hospitality, an ancient social value which characterises the Greek nation, is accused for the increasing numbers of illegal migrants. Moreover, migration is associated with the rise of unemployment and criminality, while the conditions of degradation under which most migrants live in connection with the concentration of migrants in certain places are factors which are assumed to have a negative effect on tourism, which is one of the most profitable sources of income in Greece. The army's suggestions for formulation and implementation of policies are in the line of the above logic. First of all, an active reaction against Albanians and then strict internal controls towards the remaining migrants. Secondly, religious and marital status of migrants should be recorded in order to estimate the future dangers for Greece (no explicit reference for legalisation is made but

just registration of migrants). It is also mentioned that the implementation of the Greek migration control policies should take into consideration the international agreements and the image of Greece as a democratic country in order for Greece not to be in difficult position and perturb its relation with other states. Finally, the target for policies should be the complete assimilation of migrants in Greece. For both the army and the police, illegal migrants, except for Albanians, should not be seen as a great problem. In particular, the police consider the Albanian problem as a political issue and they see themselves merely as executors of commands. A police officer admitted that the rise of fees for both residence and work permits is a means for encouraging migrants to leave Greece.

Thus, the practice of army and police is to target Albanian migrants and to operate refoulement against them on a weekly basis. Given these conditions Albanians, among the respondents feel more insecure and they seem to be stereotyped as the migrants category *par excellence*. The result is that Albanians in Greece are the group that is targeted by the authorities as illegal migrants and they deflect attention from other immigrant groups. This is clearly shown in the experience of one respondent

‘Once, some policemen stopped me in the street and asked my country of origin. When I told them that I am Bulgarian they

let me go. Probably they were looking for Albanians'

(Bulgarian, male, illegal 22).

Another respondent who was stopped by the police stated:

'When I told them that I was from Egypt, they laughed and gave me a greeting in Arabic, and they let me go because they were looking for Albanians.'

(Egyptian, male, illegal 32).

Similarly another respondent said:

'The mass media and Greek society do not have any problem with us. They do with Albanians.'

(Polish, female, illegal, 24)

The legitimization of exclusive rôle of the police and the army in the migration process comes from the fact that migrants are portrayed as law breakers from the very beginning, since their entrance in Greece they break the laws and the rules of the stay. Because migrants' illegal behaviour in association with unemployment and unstable conditions in Balkans, the rôle of the army's and the police are seen as the appropriate means to fight against migrants' illegality and criminality. The latter is seen as a consequence of criminals' migration in Greece especially from Albania and their bad living conditions.

So, the formulation and implementation of Greek immigration policy which is based on the dominance rôle of repressive agencies and very strict rules for migrants to enter legally in Greece are ways that governments structures the social relations between migrants and state and between migrants and nationals. First of all, the adoption of refoulement and round-up operations as measures to combat illegal migration is seen as ineffective and expensive, since it takes place on a weekly basis for Albanians who come back to Greece in a few days time. This was admitted also by a police officer that was interviewed.

The negative evaluation of policy and the weakness of police to control both illegality and criminality of migrants has reconfirmed the people's views of the inefficiency of Greek authorities to adopt and apply a coherent policy and legitimate the actions of repressive agencies against migrants and to control police officers' abuse against migrants.

7.8.4 Constructing vulnerability and insecurity.

At this stage of analysis, it is very interesting to see the social issues that have emerged in, and through, migration and especially through the state's rôle, as a process of forming social relations. Attention is focused exclusively on the authoritarian ways that a hostile social environment is constructed.

On the one hand, governments have introduced sanctions against illegal work for both employers and migrant workers but they have not showed any willingness to enforce these policies. On the other hand, the way that the police manage migration through refoulement and round-up operations without being controlled by judicial/juridical processes and without managing to combat illegal migration has resulted in high levels of insecurity among citizens, who are afraid of immigration, and high levels of insecurity and vulnerability among migrants. Under these conditions, it can be argued that even those who have some documents and have a residence permit, still do not feel secure and are worried about the protection of their rights. For example

‘I left Egypt but economic conditions in Greece have been worsening. They can deport me anytime, and I do not feel secure. If I could go to the USA I would do it.’
(Egyptian, male, legal, 32).

‘I came in Greece to study but I avoid creating any kind of problem and conflict with police because I am afraid of deportation even in cases that I am innocent and legal.’
(Kenyan, male, legal, 27)

Moreover, the focus on repressive measures has resulted in an increasing involvement of police officers in criminal acts. Members of the police have been involved in blackmailing migrants, in illegal trafficking of migrants, in prostitution, in issuing false documents and drug smuggling, in racist behaviour, in murders of migrants¹⁰ and generally in corruption of all kinds¹¹. Simultaneously, the mass media's presentation of migration in Greece focuses on migrants, in terms of potential criminals or offenders behind any robbery or crime.

Although official statistics do not prove any important participation by migrants in the rising criminality in Greek society¹², the official tolerance towards crimes against migrants, the inability of the police to combat criminality especially robberies and burglaries and the connection of criminality with ethnicity¹³ in the mass media has caused a 'moral panic' in Greek society and people feel vulnerable and threatened.

¹⁰see Eleftherotypia 18/8/94

¹¹See '*Foreigners in Greece*' Anti December 1996.

¹²see Karydis (1996), and Eleftherotypia 21-5-1995

¹³see Epochi 12/1/1997

7.8.5 The attempt to protect migrants' rights: Voluntary organisations and non-government organisations.

Although, under attack from the media and government policies, the violation of migrants' rights is not appreciated as a big issue. Individual initiatives, voluntary organisations and migrants unofficial organisations are established and operate in order to protect migrants rights in Greek society and to inform and take actions at the local level in order to assist people to live together.

According to a lawyer - who has established an anti-racist organisation in Kalamata and provides also free legal advice to migrants, the power of voluntary organisations to participate in the decision making is very weak, almost absent. Moreover, organisations' initiatives for protection of migrants' rights in police operations are seen by the latter as interference. Actually, voluntary organisations have little power to prevent refoulements or deportations and consequently, they focus on humanitarian assistance to migrants in custody or attempt to avert the deportation of migrants who have family in Greece. This lawyer says that cooperation with local authorities is satisfactory but the latter also has no power and resources to give significant assistance to migrants. Generally, working in a small town, an organisation has better opportunities to be informed of violations of rights

and to act faster even though, personal contacts do not seem to be applied and function between local police and the organisation. He added that there is an additional problem which is related to the conditions that most immigrants live as illegals. Since they are illegal, they are afraid of public places and live isolated from the local community, so they are not informed about these organisations in cases when they need them.

The above statement was confirmed by respondents in Kalamata most of whom did not know about the above organisation but they were interested in being informed about it and also about the existence of any organisation related to their country of origin. However, their first concern, even though they were disappointed by Greek state services, was if there is a possibility or any information about any legalisation plans of their status or legal procedures under which they can legalise their status in Greek society. The migrants who had families were more worried about their status and their childrens' future in Greece.

Another non-governmental organisation which was set up in 1989 is the Greek Council for Refugees which provides legal counselling to asylum seekers, offers legal assistance to refugees and gives direct psycho-social material assistance to refugees and persons in refugee like situations.

During the fieldwork in Greece, interviews were carried out with four

members of the Greek Council for Refugees to discover its activities and functions. Asylum seekers who want to know if they are eligible for refugee status and those whose application for refugee status is rejected have the right to appeal firstly to the Council for re-examination of their cases and in the cases that the Council decides that they are eligible for refugee status, then it can recommend to the authorities to reconsider asylum-seekers cases. The Council has close relations with other non-governmental organisations in Greece and abroad such as National Refugee Councils, the European Council for Refugees, the Red Cross, the Medical Rehabilitation Center for Torture Victims and UNHCR by which it is partly funded. Generally, the Council functions with a shortage of employees especially lawyers and interpreters, since the asylum-seekers who ask for help¹⁴ are increasing, and asylum-seekers trust the Council more than before¹⁵. They are also complaining about police abuses and lack of concern.

A very interesting incident between a Council employee and a rejected asylum-seeker occurred during the presence of the researcher. This raised questions about the protection of employees and the employee's behaviour.

One employee from the Council was threatened by an asylum seeker whose

¹⁴Most of them are Kurds from Iraq and Turkey and want to migrate to other countries since they live under difficult conditions and similar to those of illegal migrants.

¹⁵They have some problems with a few interpreters who were suspected to be spies.

applications were rejected and the employee asked for assistance from her father-in-law, rather than her employer, in order to frighten the asylum-seeker. The incident can be related to the significant rôle of the family in security and protection of people in Greece and the mistrust of legal procedures and application of protective measures even in cases when problems relate to employment.

Asylum seekers who were interviewed by the Council were very disappointed that the police did not pay any attention to their problems. Actually, all of them worked illegally and they did not seem as vulnerable as the other migrants because they had contacts with the UNHCR and other organisations and two out of the three wanted to re-migrate to Australia. The third asylum seeker had his family in Greece and they seem to be settled for good but he wanted refugee status for medical reasons. According to their experience they became illegal migrants, but with contacts with bureaucratic procedures and confronted with indifference from the police when they are in need of assistance.

In conclusion, it can be argued that voluntary and non-governmental organisations are actively trying to assist migrants and create a co-operative and solidary environment among people cut off from the function of social collectivities which are based on clientelist relations and preferential treat-

ment. However, they have a lot of difficulties in participating in political decision making and influencing the political decisions for migration. A further point is that both organisations were very keen to inform the researcher about the ways that they are organised and function. This was in complete contrast to the Departments and governmental institutions which the researcher approached to obtain information. The latter were completely negative and suspicious refusing to give any information even in cases when the researcher used personal contacts.

Additionally, at this stage it is useful to examine briefly the continuation of illegal migration in Greece in association with the propositions developed by institutional theory which are presented in Chapter 2. The establishment of humanitarian organisations in the Greek case does not seem to be closely related to the existence of firms and entrepreneurs which get involved in migration for profit, as institutional theory maintains. Rather, it can be said that their function is based on the participation of Greece in the European Union which has as consequence a closer cooperation with a variety of institutions at the European level and more importantly, with the reluctance of the Greek government to legalise migrants' position. So, due to the absence of state guaranteed rights and state agencies'¹⁶ abuse against

¹⁶Such as the army and the police

migrants, these organisations have been established even though they do not have power to put pressure on governments' decision making for more relaxed and open immigration policy as institutional theories assume. An additional comment is the respondents, especially illegal migrants, did not appear to be aware of the existence of these organisations and the services they offer, in order to make use of their function to facilitate their entry and settlement in Greece. This does not support the applicability of the proposition of institutional theory for the continuation of migration in the Greek case.

A final point, that is worth making, is connected with the general establishment of international voluntary and charity organisations in Greece especially since the 1960s. These organisations were established in Greece in order to arrange the re-migration of de facto refugees and asylum seekers - who came to Greece - to third countries with close cooperation in migrant selection with third countries' government agencies. Their rôle and function cannot be associated exclusively with the development of a market for illegal migration, as is hypothesised by institutional theory, but their establishment has to be re-examined in order to take into account national and international issues. Such an analysis is outside the scope of the present study.

7.9 Migrant networks.

According to network theories¹⁷, migrant networks is one of the main explanations for the continuation of migration flows and a reason that migration can become a social structure itself independent of socio-economic causes. However, migrant network developments in an immigration country can be examined as a way for non nationals to enter and remain in a society which is based on the division of people into nationals and aliens. This section will examine the formation of migrant networks and explore the applicability of assumptions of network theories in the Greek case. Despite the fact that this study is not based on quantitative research, it can be argued that respondents' opinions and the exploration of organisation of Greek society are sufficient factors in order to draw some initial conclusions about networks formation and establishment in Greece. A first point is that solidarity and individualistic behaviour among migrants depend on the conditions that migrants experience and the politics of the immigration country.

In Greece, for some groups of migrants, it cannot be argued that they are characterised by solidarity and co-operative feelings towards compatriots. They do not want to be together and united at least according to respondents to this research. For example, respondents from Albania state that they do

¹⁷see Chapter 2.

not want to have relations with their compatriots since they do not trust each other. Explanations for these feelings of separateness among Albanians can be linked to the existence of Albanian migrants with Albanian origin and with Greek origin and an initial welcome towards the latter. Gradually a process of 'Albanisation' of migration took place which, in particular, associated migrants with Albanian origin with criminality¹⁸.

Under these conditions, Albanian migrants do not trust each other and Greek Albanians did not want to be classified as Albanians even if some respondents point out that these two groups used to live together harmoniously in Albania. According to Albanian respondents, the first Albanian migrants came in groups to Greece and used to live all together in old hotels or abandoned houses in the suburbs of Athens and shared their earnings. Usually, they moved temporarily to agricultural areas where they worked as seasonal workers. However, this situation did not last for long since they

¹⁸Criminality which is created by official statistics since most of the Albanians are accused of the 'crime' of illegal entrance. The influx of migrants and their establishment in Greek society demonstrates deficiencies in the function of police such as corruption and consequently inability to control crime. The corruption of police and its efforts that concentrate on refoulement, and round-up operations against Albanian illegal migrants have allowed organised crime networks, that have developed in Albania after the collapse of the communist regime, to expand and extend their activities through local connections in Greece.

established relations with Greek people -through employment - on a more permanent basis and most of them did not want to support the others who could not find work. Some Albanian respondents seemed to have accepted the stereotype that Albanians are criminals and dishonest and tried to rationalise this attitude giving some answers such as:

‘I trust only my close relatives because Albanians in Greece are from different regions and I did not have anything in common with them.’

(Albanian, male, illegal 32)

Another stated

‘We Albanians are dishonest people by nature, for that reason I trust just a few Greeks and my family. I am afraid of my compatriots because I was mugged once by them.’

(Albanian, male, illegal, 35)

One Greek Albanian respondent argued:

‘I do not want to have any relations with Albanians because I am Greek.’

(Greek Albanian, male, legal, 35)

Another respondent who wished to stress her Greek origin and to complain about bad living conditions and discrimination against Greek Albanians in Greece argued:

They do not like Greek Albanians in Greece and they are right, because Albanians have committed a lot of crimes in Greece! But we are Greeks (from North Epiros) and they should not blame us for crimes.'

(Greek Albanian, female, legal 62)

Moreover, respondents emphasised the importance of personal contacts with Greeks in order to find jobs and safeguard their rights in Greek society.

An Albanian illegal respondent said that:

'I have never been unemployed because I know a lot of people (Greeks) and some of them can help me in a lot of matters concerning work.'

(Albanian, male, illegal 22)

Another pointed out that:

One Greek friend introduced me once to an employer who later on fired me without paying compensation, but through my friend I put pressure on him to pay.'

(Egyptian, male, illegal 32)

Other respondents, have had affairs with Greeks, for example a Polish and a Romanian woman and both intended to settle down in Greece. They said that they did not wish to have contacts with their compatriots and preferred to get involved with Greeks. In the case of the Romanian woman, her wish was related to her previous experience in prostitution, which she wanted to forget and she wished to escape from these networks. As far as the Polish woman was concerned, her involvement with Greeks helped her to find a part-time job relevant to her qualifications, teaching in a primary Polish school in Kalamata three days a week. Therefore, after her employment she started to have more contacts with her compatriots than initially.

The respondent from Kenya mentioned that African people were united in Greece and they had established two voluntary organisations the one - Pan-Africa - is an organisation which assists African people to establish themselves in Greece and the other - SOS-Africa - has the aim to persuade Africans to migrate to any other country in Africa rather than Europe, partly in order for Africans to assist their continent and partly as consequence of bad living conditions in Europe. Due to unstable and vulnerable conditions, the lack of protection of rights, almost all respondents mentioned that they try to discourage their compatriots from migrating to Greece.

Examining the propositions of network theories, the rôle of migrant networks in the Greek case at this period, does not seem to provide support or encouragement of more migration to Greece. Moreover, migration networks seem to obtain a specific meaning which is related to organisation of Greek society. Migrants in order to survive in Greek society are obliged to establish informal personal relations with Greeks - mainly through employment in the informal economy in which both migrants and Greek individual interests are met on the grounds of personal contact. Consequently, they participate informally in Greek society while the state and the laws are authoritarian but irrational and absent from migrants daily experience. Moreover, there seems to be a competition, especially among Albanians for obtaining jobs and a reluctance of Albanians to take care of their compatriots in Greece. These factors, as consequence of conditions under which migration from Albania has taken place, have prohibited Albanians to establish the kind of networks whose basis is on a close operation among compatriots. Migrants learn to adapt in Greece, and adopt social values such as individual behaviour and personal and clientelist relations.

It can be said that there is a counter-tendency which is intensified, also because of migration, towards application of law and respect of individual rights and obligations as collective values in Greek society. This tendency

is related to the establishment of voluntary and migrant organisations in order to unite migrants as a group and together with Greeks to demand the protection of rights transcending conditions such as nationality, religion or ethnicity and redefine the image of the 'Greek nation'.

However, it does not appear that migrants establish groups with co-ethnics which can lead migration to be an independent social structure from political, social and economic conditions in Greece, emigration countries or generally in the international context. Moreover, the possibility for re-emigration to a third country¹⁹ depends not on the 'culture of migration' but on the living conditions in Greece. Asylum-seekers or illegal migrants would like to migrate to a third country because they feel vulnerable in Greece since there is no protection of their rights and their settlement in the country.

Finally, the application of network theories' proposition about government's inability to control flows due to the establishment of networks seems to be difficult to apply to the Greek case . On the contrary, according to this study, Greek migration policy regime itself appears to be the crucial factor for the establishment or not of migrant networks or the specific meaning and their function in Greek society. Moreover, it is responsible

¹⁹Especially if they do not have family in Greece or have a relative in a third country

for discouragement for legal potential migration flows and consequently to control migration movements and settlement in Greece.

Therefore, the concept of migration networks cannot be understood exclusively as a feeling of solidarity among migrants due to their common origin, which encourages or discourages further migration but it can be seen as a way that social relations are forming in a specific national context and also as an open process which includes the ways that social relations have been shaped and are being shaped due to migration.

7.10 Relations at work.

Most of the interviewees worked in the informal economy as unskilled workers irrespective of their qualifications. They do not have work permits, though some have residence permits. Language is naturally a problem hindering communication, usually in the beginning, except for Greek-Albanians who speak fluent Greek. However, most of the respondents did not find it difficult to learn Greek and communicate in Greek and mentioned that Greeks were very keen and patient to help them in learning Greek.

Some of them worked part-time, especially students and women with families. Others had multiple employment, as employees and as freelance workers, especially those who worked in construction, agriculture or domes-

tic service.

Female respondents felt more vulnerable than male and often felt that they were forced to work in the domestic service. Some of them, state that they felt more secure avoiding public places and contacts with officials or the police. They felt that their jobs opportunities included just domestic services and employment in bars and restaurants. Female interviewees' experience included the following:

'I cannot go to work in restaurants because I do not feel secure and I am afraid of the police. I feel it is better to clean houses even though the money is less.'

(Armenian, female, illegal, 32)

'I try to find a job in restaurants or bars, but it was not a secure environment for me. I am looking for a proper job with good payment but it is very difficult to find one in Greece.'

(Polish, female, illegal, 33)

'For me as a woman it is more difficult to work as a singer because in this kind of work there may be misunderstandings as to what you are willing to do or not. You have to be careful all the time.'

(Ukrainian, female, illegal, 22)

So, in the migration process, gender dimensions are included and exaggerated. Migrant women's qualifications as irrelevant as those of migrant men since both are illegal and consequently they are both excluded from the formal labour market and generally from Greek society. However, migrant women are restricted to finding jobs in domestic services, that is, a field that is seen as appropriate for women's capabilities. In addition, women migrants are restricted to domestic service especially if they have their family and children in Greece. Finally, women migrants themselves find jobs in domestic service in order to protect themselves from sexual harassment and exploitation, since their employment in bars or restaurants can make them vulnerable in this respect.

The growing participation of Greek women in waged employment while they still are burdened with heavy family responsibilities in a society with limited welfare services makes the employment of poorly paid migrant women in domestic work very attractive. Under these circumstances, Greek women through the employment of migrant women as domestic employees or carers of children and old members of family, can contribute to family income or achieve their careers' ambitions without forcing men to share the burdens of family responsibilities. On the other hand, migrant women suffer from discrimination and exploitation since their opportunities are limited in the

private sphere, and they are vulnerable, especially if they have a work permit which means that they can work just for one employer who obtains their papers.

In general terms, the relations of migrants with their employers seem to be a dominant issue in their daily lives. Firstly, interviewees mentioned that the working conditions depend on personal qualities of employers. Migrants personal qualities also mentioned in their interaction with employers.

‘I am a very good person, for that reason I find jobs easily’.

(Armenian, female, illegal, 32)

When she was asked for clarification of ‘good’ she replied with an example:

‘Once I went to clean a house and agreed to be paid 1,000 drhs per hour. At the end I worked for 6 hours but was paid only 5,000 drhs (instead of 6,000 drhs). I did not complain so the next time they called me again.’

Another respondent stated:

‘I find jobs easily because I am a polite and helpful person, I offer to the employer my hands and my mind and in general I have a perfect behaviour.’

(Greek Albanian, illegal, male, 20)

while another said:

‘If you are not lazy you will never be unemployed.’

(Greek Albanian, female, legal, 62)

Migrants realised that they are very dependent and vulnerable to employers when they work in the domestic sector:

‘When someone migrated and lives in a new society he faces great difficulties, and if the employer is not good then you do not stand a chance.’

(Greek Albanian, female, legal, 43)

‘We are as a family at work with the employer and the colleagues and I cannot ask him to pay social security contributions for me because I cannot claim it back anyway when I return to Poland.’

(Polish, male, illegal, 26)

There were a lot of complaints about employers and their bad pay and respondents weakness to redress this:

‘You cannot complain for anything if you do not have a work permit because you are afraid of being unemployed and you need money.’

(Ukrainian, male, legal, 42)

If I have trouble with the employer because he does not pay when I work overtime, or misbehaves to me, I cannot complain because I am illegal, just try to change job.'

(Bulgarian, male, illegal, 25)

However, if they had good relations with the employer, they wanted to protect him/her as the previous migrant said. Another interviewee avoided accusing his employer and argued:

'I would like to have social security but it is not my employer's responsibility. In this kind of jobs (in construction) it is the responsibility of the proprietors of the houses in which we work but they are not willing to pay for my insurance.'

(Greek Albanian, male, legal 35)

In addition to personal relations some respondents had developed with employers they also mentioned that they did not demand their rights since they are afraid that they will lose their jobs, or being denounced to the police. Another point which all respondents mentioned was that they would like to legalise their status in Greece but they know that it could be difficult to find jobs since employers do not want to pay social security contributions. Especially for those who live more than four years in Greece and they claimed

that their wages are less than the wages of Greeks but they were satisfactory. They perceived that employers' preference to hire migrants rather than Greeks was due to the avoidance of paying social security contributions and higher wages. An additional point was the charges for renewal of both work and residence permits. As mentioned earlier, the police official stated that the double charges for permits was a way to discourage migrants to stay permanently in Greece, but the result was that legal residents in Greece avoid paying for a work permit because it results in additional spending on their part and more difficulties in finding a job. An interviewee said:

'I do not want to pay for a work permit, because I have to pay more money and I already paid for a permit of residence.'

(Egyptian male, legal, 32)

Another had experienced,

Before, I have got a permit of residence it was easy to find jobs, but after obtaining it I was unemployed for ten months. The reason was that each employer thought that s/he is going to have to pay for my social security contributions. Otherwise I can denounce him/her or ask for more payment.'

(Russian, male, legal 42)

Under the prevalent conditions, the informal economy is a framework of interpersonal clientelistic relations: the relations between employers and workers. The latter do not have any rights as a result of state policy. This is crucial for determining the way in which social interaction between these two groups is formed. The lack of application of procedures in an institutional context creates an atypical form of social interaction in the market, in which atomised groups gain from preferential treatment. This is the structure within which illegal migrant workers have to function.

The conditions of communication and interaction result in private gains for both sides- but without any protection for migrants- and the absence of mediation by the state which does not guarantee equality and freedom nor negotiates social conflicts between members involved in illegal work. In these terms, interpersonal relations between migrants and employers are developed and the point of reference is the personal qualities which respondents mentioned in order for migrants to be identified as a member of a family (as a relative or a friend) while allowing other migrants to be rejected as enemies on the grounds of difference from the migrant who has become a member of the group. The informality of the interaction and the rationalisation of an exploitative relationship allows the employment of migrants and private benefits for the employer. This results in a relationship

of power and instability between employer and employee.

So, migrants in their social interaction with nationals through the market, feel vulnerable and incapable of demanding their rights and nationals as employers could denounce them at any time if the migrants were not seen as profitable. This fear and vulnerability penetrates relations between the two groups. This is revealed by racist incidents the moment that the creation of a public space starts to be created by the mediation of the state.

7.11 Prevailing elements in daily life.

Respondants, especially those from Albania point out that in daily interaction with Greeks, they have problems about stating their country of origin. The majority of interviewees from Albania with Greek origin admitted that they avoided saying that they are from Albanian except if they knew someone very well. They do not want to encounter Greeks as Albanians since they belong to the Greek minority in Albania and feel they are returning to their homeland. Respondants with Albanian origin said that after they came in Greece and experienced racialisation and exclusion from Greek society, they felt forced to present themselves as Greek Albanians. Some changed their Albanian name to Greek and were issued with forged papers.

Some respondents' comments about their experience in daily contacts

with Greek society connected with their ethnic origin are:

‘An employer was asking me for 3 months if it was really true that I am a Greek Albanian. When I decided to tell him the truth he fired me. He was afraid of Albanians due to mass media propaganda against Albanian immigrants.’

(Albanian, male, illegal, 32)

‘In the beginning my neighbours did not want to have any contacts with us because we were from Albania. But now occasionally they call me to visit them.’

(Albanian, illegal, female, 17)

‘If people do not know I am from Albania they are ok with me. Only if I trust them do I tell them my country of origin.’

(Greek Albanian, male, illegal, 20)

‘I changed my name and I have got forged papers but after 5 years I have decided to tell the truth to people I trust.’

(Albanian, male, illegal, 24)

‘For Greeks it makes no difference if you are Albanian or Greek Albanian but it makes a difference if you are a good worker or

not...usually,I do not mention my country of origin.'

(Albanian, male, illegal, 22)

Another similar point is the awareness of religion in Greek society. All the respondents made some comments about religious issues. On the part of Romanians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians and Armenians, they all stressed that they are Christian Orthodox like Greeks. An Armenian pointed out that

'As a newcomer I did not speak Greek but when I told people what my country of origin was, I was welcome because people mentioned that I had the same religion with them.'

Albanian interviewees - being from a country where religion and religious activities were prohibited and where their socialisation did not include religion issues, seemed willing to claim that they would not mind being Christian Orthodox even though they admitted that they were not religious persons.

'Of course I am Christian... I do not believe in God but sometimes I go to church on Sundays.'

(Albanian, male, illegal, 35)

'I believe in God generally but I do not care if I go to church or the mosque. Usually, I go to church in Greece.'

(Albanian, male, illegal, 22)

‘I baptised my children when I came to to Greece but I personally do not believe in God. I am a Christian Orthodox in papers and I usually go to church.’

(Greek Albanian, female, legal, 43)

‘When I came to Greece I was baptised. You need god-parents in order to assist you in Greece.’

(Greek Albanian, male, illegal, 20)

In contrast, respondents from Egypt who were Muslims, stated that they had great problems in daily life. These problems resulted from peoples’ comments on their religion, their children have difficulties particularly in school (they are excluded from the religious instruction lesson which is compulsory in Greek primary and secondary education) and finally in practising their religious duties.

‘Greeks hate Islam, I do not know why. A reason seems to be that they identify Islam with Turks. Everyone here in Greece wants from me to change my religion.’

(Egyptian, male, legal, 32)

‘Even if I live a lot of years in Greece and I am married with a Greek, I am sure I cannot get Greek nationality because I am Muslim.’

(Egyptian, male, legal 33)

The above issues as parts of the migration process in Greece can be seen as migrant strategies to survive or to get some kind of legalisation. However, they can be seen as issues which are related to the ways that social relations are formed and consequently revealed in the migration process. In this sense, the vantage point of Greek society's structure the significance of Greek origin, kinship relations and religion are elements about which the Greek nation as a collectivity, needs to analyse itself. Some practices can be seen as exceptions. One such case is that of Greek Albanians who did not seem to have a preferential treatment in Greek society or state (due to foreign affairs' reasons for the latter). Another such case is that some employers did not bother about nationality or religious issues at all but just looked for good workers - as one respondent pointed out. It is obvious that the process of forming social relations exclusively in labour market, that is, without state guaranteeing any kind of rights for newcomers, includes also elements of processes which relate to nationality and gender exclusion, family/kinship ties and religion. Thus, these elements not only reflect the way

that migration is processing in Greece but also reflect the way that Greeks, individually and collectively, perceive themselves, construct their social consciousness, and redefine themselves through migration. In other words, they reflect their perceptions of the function of their society; mechanisms and efficiency of the state and their rationalisation of their attitudes towards themselves and foreigners (not only people with different origin, religion but also people outside their family and kinship group) come in question through migration. In sum, migrants' status and experience in Greek society reflects the specific structures on which this society is organised. Therefore, the informal economy, the religious, family and clientelistic ties, the prevalence of the informal relations, the weak civil society, the national identity, the inconsistency of the implementation of policies and the organisation and function of state agencies are issues which are expressed in migration in Greece. While, at the same time, migration reflects the ways that these issues are debated in Greek society, that is, migration as being constructed, incorporates together the reproduction and the question of the prevailing images and practices.

7.12 The negotiation process.

In the migration process in Greece, attitudes of Greeks towards 'foreigners' and 'migrants' seem to be changing from initial ignorance, tolerance and positive views to stereotyping and rejective behaviour²⁰. Simultaneously, a series of violent incidents by Greeks against migrants, irrational actions from Greeks who take the law in their hands, ignoring democratic institutions and legal rules and also incidents which refer to rallying people as Greeks, to confront and take action against foreigners, the rising of organised crime in Greece, the racialisation process of migration, especially through Albanian migrants have intensified and coincide with the first programme for legislation of migration which has started in 1997. The legalisation means that a public sphere is going to be constructed for the social relations of these groups, foreigners and nationals and their communication through the mediation of state, that is the negotiation process has started. But it is important to address the question under which conditions, did the negotiations start?

²⁰Research on 'Greek attitudes towards foreigners' (Eleftherotypia: 1991, 1995 and 1996) - research on 'student attitudes towards foreigners', Karydis (1996) op cit pp. 138-156 and Boulgaris G. (1995) *'The perception of and attitudes towards otherness in Modern Greece.'* Greek Political Science Review vol. 5 pp. 79-100. They indicate a change of attitudes towards migrants in Greek society.

According to migrants experience as a group in Greek society, vulnerability, fear and mistrust are feelings which prevail among migrants for Greek state and Greek society. In the absence of any legal and political protection, migrants have been exposed to individual and collective authoritarian practice. They have been seen as means for utilitarian individual economic interests without actually establishing social relations with nationals in 'binding' or 'formal' terms.

It should be stated that the migrants interviewed for this research, especially those from former communist regimes found it very irrational and strange for laws not to be enforced, or, in some cases the absence of law as well as the state's indifference to needs of poor people since for most of them Greece was the first capitalist country they had visited.

Generally speaking, migrants are in a hostile environment without any rights having just one quality that of 'workers'. They work in the informal sector of the economy which means that they are largely absent from society and do not have any other quality but their labour power. However, they have been within the borders of society, an invisible but existing part of Greek society. On the other hand, nationals also feel vulnerable and insecure owing to the complexity of the specific organisations of social and political practices. For Greeks, the social environment has generally been perceived

as hostile based on prevalence of atomised behaviour and exclusion of non-family members as threats to family or atomised gains²¹, in the terms of party clientelism, and of states rôle as preferential distributor, owing to the fact of the function of the system which has come to its limit and the participation of Greece in the E.U. A series of crises have emerged as a result of de-industrialisation, limitation of distribution resources and undermining of clientelism which has been intensified by changes in the Balkans and generally the collapse of the communist regimes²².

Under these conditions, a prevailing social value 'tranquility'²³ (quietness or in Greek *isihia*), that is, 'peaceful social order' which should characterise both family and social and political realm has been disrupted and a fear of instability and disorder has developed. The operation of atomised groups in clientelist terms, the inability of governments to implement coherent long-term policies, the lack of application of equality and freedom and market rationality, the perception of a unique nation permanently under threat, has been reflected in, and through, the migration process.

Thus, it can be said that all these issues have been expressed by the

²¹See Pollis A. (1977) '*The impact of traditional cultural patterns in Greek politics*' *The Greek Review of Social Research*. Vol. 29 pp. 2-14.

²²Charalambis, D and Demertzis N. (1993) '*Politics and citizenship in Greece: cultural and structural facets.*' *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 11 pp. 219-240.

²³see Pollis, A. (1977) *op cit.* pp 6-7

corruption of police, the disfunction of administrative institutions, the rise of criminality and citizens' political and social alienation. Social values and practices have been questioned and fear and insecurity have intensified, during the legalisation process. In addition with the general crises, the ineffectiveness of state mechanisms to prevent criminality has been in question.

Fear of rising criminality, the inability of the state to control it²⁴, and a generally Hobbesian view of the world²⁵ held by Greeks, have resulted in individual security measures. These are installation of alarms, hiring of private security to protect two or three blocks, carrying arms and villagers' unification and action against migrants such as beating and expulsions of Albanians from some areas, imposing curfew on Albanian migrants and pro-

²⁴The minister of Public Order who was interviewed in a newspaper after a juridicial investigation on the activities of the Ministry of Public Order in suspicion about accusations of its officials in illegal naturalisation of members of international criminal networks and remuneration for police services to night clubs - (Eleftherotypia 23/3/1998) argues that due to unemployment and illegal migration crimes against property are going to increase. For that reason, citizens have to protect themselves but not to act in panic. He added that illegal migration is going to continue due to Greece's geographical position and police can combat the entry and settlement of illegal migration in terms of Greece's obligation within Shengen, that is, to apply cleaning operations of national space.

²⁵Pollis, A. (1977) op. ci.t p. 6.

hibition on them of alcohol consumption. In some cases where Greeks are involved in murdering migrants, eye witnesses either hide the evidence or local residents are united in defending the accused and ask for his acquittal. However, simultaneously, migrants are united in demanding the protection of their rights, better and minimum wages and better working conditions. They establish official organisations and organise demonstrations and rallies in order to protest against racist attacks, and their exclusion and discrimination in Greek society.

Under these circumstances, with prevailing irrationality and confusion about social values, the process of negotiations can be explored through Montaigne's sceptical and relativistic argument about the conditions of communication and its possible normative framework in 'the hour of parleying'. Following Montaigne's perspective, the negotiations have started and the two groups which are involved, nationals and foreigners-migrants, which -through the mediation of the state as a political power - are going to construct their social relations. It can be said that before the legalisation programme, the specific actions of the state did not seem to be constructing a public sphere or a political formal framework in which nationals and migrants could act. This preservation of *status quo* has been a result not only of state's particular rôle in migration but also of state's general rôle in Greek

society. In these conditions, nationals had the freedom to construct informal social relations with migrants according to their atomised interests and also had the protection of the state in the process of achieving them; while migrants were seen as mere labour power and as such as means for achievement of various goals which was left dependent on the individuals' will. In brief, the forms of social relations were organised away from a normative and rational framework.

However, the legalisation programme can be seen as the starting point of communication between social groups which are used to seeing each other in conflicting terms. According to Montaigne²⁶, this starting point is very crucial since at any time, the communication can be stopped not only due to the conflicting interests of the social groups involved, but also due to the very conditions under which the state itself has been constructed and acted as a legitimate power to mediate²⁷.

Under this framework, as far as the Greek case is concerned, it can be said that the existing forms of social relations are in question due to the way that the state acts in Greek society and the weak control on its decision

²⁶Montaigne M. de (1897) *'The hour of parleying is dangerous.'* (Essay 1:6) (translated in English) London: Dent .

²⁷Psychopedis, K. (1992) *'The normative Montaigne.'* Logou Harin 3 pp. 33-48 (in Greek).

making by the civil society. The Greek state which is characterised by inconsistency and weakness and cannot impose social relations on rational grounds. Thus, in the migration process, the organisation of social relations and the function of the state and its agencies are challenged. If the state has the will to apply and guarantee values such as freedom, equality and justice in order to justify its intentions to re-organise social relations between nationals and migrants and also to manage to integrate these values into the broader modernisation programme which have already adopted²⁸, then the Greek society will be able to integrate and internalise these values as rational collective ones and the communication can continue. If the reverse is true and the state and its agencies concentrate on authoritarian measures and the imposition on them by violence, then communication is going to stop. People will take the law into their own hands in order to protect themselves and their families in an irrational but traditional way. The migrants will be seen as the enemy within and they will be seen in terms of mistrust and irrational atomised interests and not in terms of their needs and their wishes to co-exist in Greek society. As a consequence, broader social values such as social peace and cohesion are going to be under threat.

Therefore, the legalisation programme in Greece, is not to be seen just

²⁸The modernisation programme focus exclusively on economic value and goals.

as legalisation of position of migrants. It does not deal exclusively with migrants but it is to be connected with broader social issues, problems and conflicts in Greek society. It is a starting point of re-organisation of social relations in general social terms. Relations between nationals and migrants and their symbiosis are formalised owing to the functionality of the system. In this process, the state and its function also reflect this process. In fact all participants in this process, the state as a system and mediator of social relations and social groups with conflicting interests have to re-organise their practices in order to manage their coexistence in the society. In order to achieve functional goals, social values such as social cooperation, and cohesion, equality and justice emerge but, the ways that they can be included in this re-organisation crucially depend on the will and practice of people. The political framework should incorporate these values in the decision-making in order for people to take under consideration other people's needs. Thus, as Bouamama points out²⁹ 'things are never completely irreversible'; but the point of reference is people's continuous action and struggle as the only power to change, establish and maintain solidarity and cooperation based on equality and freedom'.

²⁹Bouamama S. (1995) *'The paradox of the European social and political ties; nationalitarian citizenship and identity ambiguity.'* in Martiniello M. (ed) (1995) *'Migration citizenship and ethno-national identities in the EU.'* Aldershot: Avebury.

The above issues indicate that migration should be seen from different vantage points since it is an internal part of the social becoming. It can be seen through the function of state, through society's practice, through the migrants point of view. Migration does not address just problems or questions about itself, but it addresses social issues which are pertinent to the organisation of a society since in each national context, migration general properties are developing in a specific way.

7.13 Conclusion.

In this chapter, with the starting point of migrants' specific experience in Greek society, which, in a sense, is characterised by a process from a 'lack of social relations' to a construction of a framework for forming social relations, this study explored the issues which have been reflected in their experience referring to the structures and attitudes of the Greek society.

Moreover, the ways that migrants' informal and extra-institutionalised participation in the Greek society have brought in changes and movements which can be included in the process of re-construction of forms of social relations.

Finally, through the legislation programme, this study saw the migration process as an internal part of the social and political processes in Greece and

as an open question.

The contemporary form of migration indicates some general properties of the establishment of social relations and their reproduction which are developing in each national context, issues which have been explored in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the analysis was based on the reflection of these specific structures and attitudes of the Greek society in the construction of migration process in Greece through migrants' experience.

The starting point of this study was that the concept of migrant does not have a permanent or a similar meaning in all national contexts, but besides a general meaning for migrant, people are becoming migrants (some do not) through their interactions with a specific society. Thus, this chapter explored the ways that migrants' informal and extra-institutionalised participation in the Greek society have been connected with structures and attitudes of the Greek society. In fact, it can be said that the migration process in Greece is characterised by a process from 'a lack of social relations' to a construction of a framework for forming social relations. This 'lack of social relations' can be seen in terms of the reluctance of state, as a system of social relations, to mediate and provide a public framework in which relations between nationals and migrants can be formalised.

Furthermore, this study examined how this informal migrants partici-

pation in the society, in fact in the market, has led to vulnerability and insecurity of both nationals and migrants, thus triggering irrational actions and authoritarian mechanisms. However, at the same time, it has led social groups to get organised and demand for protection of migrants' rights and for general inclusion and implementation of equality and justice in Greek society.

Finally, conflicting and collaborating tendencies in social relations among nationals and migrants are examined through the legislation programme in order to emphasise that the migration process is an internal part of social and political processes in Greece, whose becoming is an open question.

Chapter 8

Conclusions.

The goals of this study were to adopt a theoretical perspective which can understand not only the general aspects of migration but also deals with the specific situation in Greece. A perspective which permits the historical investigation of migration and its emergence as a contemporary social phenomenon, as a common feature of all societies, in a international context. Additionally, a perspective which permits the exploration of the differences or particular ways that migration emerges and characterises a concrete national context, under certain conditions. In searching for a satisfactory theory of migration, some prerequisites emerged and directed the way of thinking towards choosing a theoretical perspective through which it is possible to understand migration.

First of all, in the contemporary era, the struggle of social movements and the existing theoretical elaborations, tend to focus on the differences among people which have led to the intensification of peoples' and group conflicts abandoning the other side of social life, that is, the similarities among persons and individuals and their conditions of existence. If they are not seen as uniform, but as a common ground for individuals, similarities can be a crucial and focal point in order to emphasise social cooperation and solidarity relations thereby joining people together in struggle against exploitation, antagonism, social inequality and oppression. Combining differences and similarities in the examination of social relations, social praxis can be seen as an open question - since it includes both perspectives- whose content depends on historical social conditions. Therefore, a first requirement for a theory of migration is to include social values such as social cooperation and solidarity within the political framework and to see them as binding political values which are under threat by the process of the existing organisation of social relations.

Besides the normative framework, other preconditions revealed in the process of this analysis of migration, that is, giving an answer to the question about the possibility of constructing a satisfactory theory of migration. These preconditions are related to the inflexibility of understanding determi-

nations and limitations which existing migration research has brought about, as a result of the adoption of theoretical viewpoints in the construction of theories of migration.

The preoccupation of migration research to understand migration movements exclusively through economic logic or through capitalist production laws and then to connect migration with economic growth, and different levels of development among states or laws of capitalism, has resulted migration theoretical elaborations to adopt one-sided explanations. Most of them viewed migration primarily as an economic phenomenon, which can be explained through a cost and benefit schema. Moreover, some of them adopted the individual as a unit of analysis, the model of individual which emerged through the historical conditions of the establishment of bourgeois society. Thus, theories, which adopted either the 'push-pull' scheme or the 'individual-structure' explanation have led to one-sided deterministic or functional analysis and certainly to a stagnant way of thinking about migration.

Additionally, a new tendency in migration analysis has emerged in attempting to overcome limitations and deadlocks in ways of thinking about migration. This focuses on evaluating theoretical models through empirical

works on migration¹. They pay attention to the prediction 'for international movements and the odds of migration'. Moreover they argue that empirical works can connect with various theoretical models or better to shed light to different aspects of migration, even though they observe that both empirical and theoretical studies of migration are relatively deficient owing to the fact of 'lack of reliable statistical data for international migration' and a 'lack of a commonly accepted theoretical framework' ². However, this tendency does not seem to overcome the limitations of the existing ways of thinking in migration since it views empirical works as providing evidence in the evaluation of theories, namely it legitimates empirical support for theoretical hypotheses and models, leading to a construction of theories on the basis of the operation of observed laws which conduct a particular behaviour of migration and determine motives of individuals.

Moreover, theories that incorporate values and normative frameworks, although they introduce values as an important dimension of theoretical analysis in migration, they view them either as a way to check theories' consistency with their own propositions or in realistic terms. In other words,

¹D. S. Massey, T. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Koudouci, A. Pelegrino and J. E. Taylor (1994)

'An evaluation of international theory: The North American case.' **Population and Development Review**. Vol. 20 No. 4 pp. 699-751.

²op. cit. p. 700.

the incorporation of values in migration theory is not related with the emergence and development of theories themselves in association with a particular historical social context or with concrete negative consequences in the conditions of social life.

The most important drawback of all these theories, is that they cannot be reflective, that is, they do not adopt appropriate theoretical framework and abstract categories in order to understand crucial dimensions of social reality including its critique. The consequent weakness of these theories is that they cannot check their own argument over ideologies and categorisations which exist in societies or in concrete forms of social relations as historical results, they cannot examine the relationship between historical social relations and their theoretical elaborations and they cannot follow the concrete as an ongoing open process.

Taking into account the above issues, as they emerged from the search for a theoretical understanding of migration in general along with particular social contexts, led this research to be directed towards an examination of the divisions, categories and types of migration, such as, internal and international migration, economic or labour migration and asylum seekers or refugees, legal and illegal migration, nationals and foreigners and emigration and immigration countries. Therefore, the focus was on the exploration of

the specific historical social organisation and the ways that this creates social perceptions and practices in the concrete and abstract aspects of migration, and the relationship between them.

Thus, contrary to most theoretical elaborations, this research did not start from migration but from the general social framework as it has historically emerged, as it is seen in materialistic dialectics or Marxian dialectics. This general social framework is understood through abstract categories such as exchange, commodity and exploitative relations between people which constitute the particular organisation of social relations under capitalism as a historical result, but also the critical viewing of this particularisation. This social framework was explored through certain dialectical concepts such as forms, processes, differences and similarities/identities, results and preconditions, and mediation. The above abstractions are based on the antinomy which emerge between the particular form of exploitation and a general social co-operation. The latter is seen as it is posited also as a result of the same specific historical conditions.

Under this perspective, the way of thinking about migration does not focus on movements of people but rather the starting point is the historical organisation of society and the ways that relations amongst people have proceeded and been formulated. Migration is seen as a form of social rela-

tions. Generally, these relations are not only seen from the functioning of the system but also from people's membership in groups as historical results of social interaction. Migration is associated with other forms of social relations which mean that the latter forms are included and proceed in, and through, migration. Thus, capital relation³ and its antinomy (contradiction of social production and private appropriation), capitalist state and its national divisions, racism and sexism are expressed in, and through migration as a contemporary social phenomenon. Simultaneously, these elements of the organisation of the system's function have formulated groups and their interaction. That is that people organised in social groups through their relation with other groups.

In this sense, it can be argued that migration's complexity, multidimensionality and changeability rests on its mutual dependence on other forms of social relations and their becoming. Thus, this understanding of migra-

³Today in social theories generally, there is a tendency either to ignore class relations or to connect them with people's economic attributes and to focus on other aspects of social life as being more important or crucial for understanding the complexity of social conditions. However, in this way, they ignore class relations as the core precondition of the existing organisation of social relations and its function. The antithetical and inter-related social relation between capital and wage labour, the class as an abstract category is a common element in the social relations and social conditions which all people share.

tion can investigate different aspects of social totality which are included in migration, and constitute the general social framework. It can also examine which aspects of social totality are more significant in each specific social context with specific social conditions without overlooking other aspects. Finally, it can explore the ways that people identify and organise themselves in groups through their social interaction.

Precisely, the general social framework is seen through the abstract category of capital relations as a rigidified social relation which is a historical result as well as a precondition for the existing organisation of social relations. The capital relation is seen as a core property of the capitalist system which is a common condition in all forms of social relations. As such, capital relation is not seen exclusively in economic or production terms but as a relation which concerns all dimensions of social life and unifies all their differentiated forms. Following the historical separation of economic and political relations, and the division of capitalist state in national states, it is possible to examine various aspects of social life in association with migration. These aspects are the emergence of the individual as a unit of analysis and as a basic actor in capitalist society affecting migration decision making; the prevalence of economic rationality in migration analysis; the independence of racial and gender relations from class relations; the sovereignty

of each national territory and its fundamental criteria such as citizenship and nationality for membership and the independence of states and their relationship in the international system.

In studying social relations and their forms in capitalism, it can be argued that a general theory of migration includes social relations which are based on these historical constructions. In other words, migration is formulated through capital relation and a national membership. Thus, migration means relations between people who have embodied social functions and their relations are mediated by the state in the domestic context and by the existence of multiple national states in the international context. This mediation rigidifies social relations but also constructs and intensifies the organisation of people into groups around certain qualities such as class, 'race', gender, nationality etc.

Simultaneously, migration is constantly changing since it incorporates and reflects the movement of the capitalist system whose mode of existence is a contradiction between the compulsion of people to sell their labour power or the negation of their subjectivity and, the emancipation of labour from capital relations or the resistance of people to this negation of their subjectivity (objectification). Therefore, migration is also a form of social struggle. It is an aspect of the international division of labour and also it is

a resistance to functional reproduction. Migration reconstructs the national division of labour transferring it into a national territory as elements of the international division of labour and national global relations.

In this way, migration should be seen and examined from different perspectives. It should be seen from the viewpoint of the function of the system but also it should be seen from the viewpoint of people's resistance to the functional reproduction of alienated social relations. It can be argued that migration is a dimension of social struggles for broader social reproduction, that is, an aspect of the social question which deals with the international context. However, owing to the fact that social struggles are expressed in the national context, migration struggles are also taking place in this context.

As far as 'race' and gender inequalities are concerned, it is necessary to point out that they are forms of social relations which are including in migration if migration is seen as a form of social relations and as a process. These exploitations have been widespread in the capitalist organisation of social relations even though they did not initially participate in the public sphere as political demands for equality and freedom, that is as universal principles. Their similarity with class is that together they are all associated with the material conditions of social life as a unity . Important aspects of their differences are first connected with the historical results of social func-

tions and struggles in a fragmented and alienated society and second, are relevant to the emancipation of 'race', gender and nationality exploitations and oppressions, which could not automatically be a result of the abolishment of capitalism. The reason is that any future society which may be divided by class in its broadest meaning (referring to the exploitation of human creativity), will find it possible to integrate and elaborate particular dimensions of divisions and exploitations⁴.

The examination of the general social framework as a historical result which includes both particularisation as a negation of the social dimension of peoples' relations and people's resistance to this particularisation, and as internal contradictory relation of the social becoming, the next step is to explore the contemporary conditions of the general social framework.

In contextualising social relations, through an international perspective, as a united framework, the relations between multiple national states can be seen in terms of both tensions and collaborations among them. Simultaneously, the contemporary developments of migration through national policies and migratory flows can be integrated into an abstract framework and can be seen as movements of the same process. This means that contemporary migration debates are seen through the interrelation between

⁴Doxiadis(1996) op. cit.73 and Psychopedis(1991).

the state's effort to reproduce the existing social relations and migration struggles to resist to this reproduction. This is an antithesis which is not exclusively connected with predetermined economic laws and outcomes, but it involves all aspects of social relations as they are organised in capitalist society. An aspect of collaboration and tension among national states is examined by the contemporary tendency of some national states to co-operate and unify their national policies as they are expressed in the European regional context. Under the contemporary conditions, this regional context is constructing a political framework which incorporates and reproduces elements of the national political one in the process of their co-existence. This regional unification of relations among states is reflected in migration as a form of social relations and it takes place through the migration process. In this context, migration constitutes an important aspect in the construction of a regional membership of people which, at the present time, has emerged and coexisted together with a national membership. In other words, the process of a regional reconstruction of social relations proceeds through the migration process.

By studying migration through contemporary conditions in international, regional and national contexts, it is possible to examine the general abstractions which are related to migration taking a specific realisation and expres-

sion which is associated with specific contemporary specific social conditions within international, regional and national contexts.

In this process, an appropriate theoretical perspective was searched as a framework for understanding immigration as a contemporary phenomenon in Greece. Until recently, Greece saw herself, and was generally considered by other countries and was presented in the migration literature, as an emigration and transit country which was transformed into an immigration country in the late 1980s, especially after the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe. According to this view, a mass population movement has started, mainly as illegal migration that is, beyond Greek state control. This prevailing type of migration was justified either as owing to a previous lack of experience in immigration by the Greek state and its general inability to exert effective controls against migration or as the result of the natural form of its geographical borders which are difficult to be effectively guarded. However, a more careful study of migration in Greece, reveals that immigrant communities have existed in Greece since the beginning of the 1970s and migrants come from various regions and not only from the European region. These immigrants have 'co-existed' with nationals, for a long time, without developing social contacts with them.

Additional realisations have been that this early immigration happened

simultaneously with emigration, and that at the present time, immigration is taking place with high unemployment rates, yet without migrants having problems in finding employment, usually in the informal economy. Moreover, not only middle class families but almost all families, employ permanently or temporarily illegal migrants, a fact which can be seen as a kind of social contact between nationals and migrants. Furthermore, even certain companies which undertake construction of public works together with local authorities, have employed illegal migrants. Also, in spite of generally preferential treatment of Greek state policies towards patrials, there also seems to be a discriminatory policy of repatriation towards patrials from certain countries, in part towards Greek Pontians from former Soviet Union countries and more generally towards Greek-Albanians.

Simultaneously, a series of events are taking place, such as the increasing action of the policy against illegal migrants particularly Albanians, the adoption of strict immigration laws, negative coverage of the mass media against migrants, negative stereotypes of society, racist attacks and a negative perception against migrants in general and against particular groups of migrants have emerged and spread widely in Greek society. Generally speaking, migrants, especially illegal migrants, are not seen to exist in society, but only in estimations from various statistics, and consequently, they

do not have rights and official political protection.

Furthermore, Greece, as a member of the EU participates in the harmonisation of policies, including migration and the free movement of EU citizens within the national territories of member-states. In these terms, migration of the EU citizens and migration from other advanced countries such as the USA, is not seen as a negative or public issue in Greek society. Moreover, the Greek migration phenomenon and its process seems to be quite different from the migration experience in other EU member states, even though it can be argued that there are a lot of similarities with other Southern European member states, such as Spain, Italy and Portugal.

In particular, the examination of migration in a national context started from domestic developments and the elaboration of the elements of the general social framework and their specific realisation as 'structural' characteristics in society. Thus, the focus was on the way that these specific characteristics are reflected in migration; the way that they formulate migration. The examination of the legal and political procedures indicated the formal ways that social relations between nationals and migrants are mediated by the Greek state. Moreover, unfolding the specific development of different forms of social relations through the individuals' experience as migrants it was possible to follow and to understand the construction of the concept

of migrant as a becoming process. This process, crucially, depends on the specific way that state mediates in order to negotiate relations between nationals and migrants.

In conclusion, migration, as a contemporary social phenomenon, is a form of social relations, and thus an internal part of the capitalist organisation of international society. This implies that other forms of social relations exist in and also proceed through migration. Consequently, migration acquires general properties of the capitalist formation but, at the same time, these properties are expressed in a specific way in each particular context. Finally, it can be said that migration is a form which exists in and against the capitalism. Therefore, adopting the Marxian dialectics, migration can be seen as a becoming, as an ongoing process, in general and specific contexts. In this way, it is possible to study new elements of migration and also to explore migration from different points of view, including the ways that people experience social phenomena.

Bibliography

- Abercombie N. and Hill S. (1986) *'Sovereign individuals of capitalism.'*
London: Allen and Unwin
- Adelman H. (1988) *'Refuge or asylum: a philosophical perspective.'* **Journal of Refugee Studies** Vol. 1 (1) pp. 7-19, reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) *'Theories of migration.'* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar
- Amin A. (ed) (1994) *'Post-Fordism: A reader.'* Oxford: Blackwell
- Agelides M. (1998) *'Community, freedom, equality.'* **Axiologika** Vol. 11-12 pp. 443-454
- Anthias F. (1997) *'Anti-racism, Multiculturalism and Struggles for a Multicultural Democracy.'* in *'European Citizenship and the Social Exclusion.'* in Roche, M. and van Berkel R. (ed) (1997) Aldershot: Ashgate
- Axford B. (1995) *'The global system. Economics, Politics and Culture.'*
Cambridge: Polity Press
- Bach R. L. and Schraml L. A. (1986) *'Migration crisis and theoretical conflict.'* **International Migration Review** Vol. 16 (2) pp. 311-334
- Baldwin-Edwards, M. (1995) *'Immigration into Greece'* unpublished work.
- Baldwin-Edwards M. (1996) *'The emerging European immigration regime: Some reflections on implications for Southern Europe.'* Unpublished Report.
- Baldwin-Edwards, M. (1991) *'Immigration after 1992.'* **Policy and**

Politics Vol 19 (3) pp. 199-211

Balibar E. and Wallerstein I. (1991) *'Race, nation and class: ambiguous identities.'* London: Verso

Barbalet J. M. (1988) *'Citizenship.'* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Barjaba K. (1997) *'Between social integration and exclusion: Albanian immigrants in Greece.'* (unpublished)

Beetham D. (1996) *'Market economy and democratic polity.'* Conference Paper, Warwick University

Black R. (1992) *'Livelihood and vulnerability of foreign refugees in Greece.'* Kings College, Occasional Paper No. 33

Bretherton C. and Ponton G. (eds) (1996) *'Global politics: an introduction.'* Oxford: Blackwell

Bretherton C. (1996) *'Universal Human Rights; Bringing People into Global Politics.'* in Bretherton C. and Ponton G. (eds) (1996) *'Global politics: an introduction.'* Oxford: Blackwell

Bonefeld W. (1991) *'Social constitution and the form of the capitalist state.'* in Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1991) *'Dialectics and history.'* Open Marxism Vol. 1 pp. 93-192 London: Pluto Press

Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1991) *'Dialectics and*

history.' **Open Marxism Vol. 1** London: Pluto Press

Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1992) '*Theory and practice.*' **Open Marxism Vol. 2** London: Pluto Press

Bonefeld W., Gunn R., Holloway J. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1995) '*Emancipating Marx.*' **Open Marxism Vol. 3** London: Pluto Press

Bonefeld W. and Holloway J. (eds) (1995) '*Global capital, national state and the politics of money*' Basingstoke: Macmillan Press

Böhning W. R. (1991) '*Integration and Immigration pressures in Western Europe*' **International Labour Review Vol. 130** (4) pp. 445-448

Bosniac L.S. (1991) '*Human rights, state sovereignty and the protection of undocumented migrants under the international migrant workers convention.*' **International Migration Review Vol. 25** (4) pp. 737-770

Boulgaris G. (1995) '*The perception of and attitudes towards otherness in Modern Greece.*' **Greek Political Science Review Vol. 5** pp. 79-100

Buamama S. (1995) '*The paradox of the European social and political ties; nationalitarian citizenship and identity ambiguity.*' in Martiniello M. (ed) (1995) '*Migration citizenship and ethno-national identities in the EU.*' Aldershot: Avebury

Bunyan T. (1991) '*Towards an authoritarian European state.*' **Race and Class 32** No. 3 pp. 19-26.

Burnham P. (1990) *'The political economy of postwar reconstruction.'*
Basingstoke: Macmillan

Burnham P. (1993) *'Marxism, Neorealism and International Relations.'*
Common Sense 14 pp. 22-31

Burnham P. (1995) *'Capital, Crisis and the International State System'*
in Bonefeld W. and Holloway J. (eds) (1995) *'Global capital, national state
and the politics of money'* Basingstoke: Macmillan Press

Callovi, G. (1992) *'Regulation of migration in 1993: Pieces of the EC
jigsaw puzzle.'* International Migration Review Vol. XXVI (3) pp.
353-373

Carens J. H. (1995) *'Aliens and citizens: the case for open borders.'* in
Beiner, R. (ed) (1995) *'Theorizing citizenship.'* New York: State University
of New York Press

Castells M. (1975) *'Immigrant workers and class Struggles in advanced
capitalism: the Western European experience.'* Politics and Society 5 (1)

Castles S. (1995) *'How states responds to immigration and ethnic diver-
sity.'* New Community 21 No. 3 pp.293-308

Castles S. and Kosack G. (1973) *'Immigrant workers and class structure
of Western Europe.'* London: Oxford University Press

Castles S. and Miller M. J. (1993) *'The age of migration: International*

population movements in the modern world.' Basingstoke: Macmillan

Charalambis D. (1985) *'Army and political power: the structure of power in the post civil war Greece.'* Athens: Eksantas (in Greek)

Charalambis D. and Demertzis N. (1993) *'Politics and Citizenship in Greece: Cultural and Structural Facets.'* (1993) **Journal of Modern Greek Studies**. Vol. 11 No. 2 pp. 219-240

Cherunilam F. (1987) *'Migration.'* Bombay: Hymalaya Publishing House

Chlepas N. and Spyrakos, D. (1992) *'The 1975/1991 Aliens Law and the Constitution'* Athens: Sakoulas (in Greek)

Cleaver H. (1979) *'Reading capital politically.'* Sussex: The Harvester Press

Clogg R. (1992) *'A concise history of Greece.'* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Cohen R. (1987) *'The New Helots.'* Aldershot: Avebury

Cohen R. (1987) *'The new international division of labour: A conceptual, historical and empirical critique'* **Migration** Vol. 1 pp. 21-45

Cohen S. (1990) *'Imagine there is no countries: 1992 and international relations controls against migrants immigrants and refugees.'* Manchester: Greater Manchester Immigration Aid Unit

Collinson S. (1993) *'Europe and international migration.'* London: Pin-

ter Publishers

Convey A. and Kupiszewski M. (1995) *'Keeping up with Schengen: Migration and policy in the European Union.'* **International Migration Review** Vol. 29 No. 4 pp. 939-963.

Cornelius W., Martin P.L. and Hollifield J.F. (eds) (1992) *'Controlling immigration: a global perspective.'* Stanford: Stanford University Press

Dale R. (1990) *'Nation state and international system: The world system perspective.'* in McLennan G., Held D. and Hall S. (eds) (1990) *'The idea of the modern state.'* Buckingham: Open University Press

De Brunhoff S. (1983) *'State and Capital.'* Athens: Themelio (in Greek)

Demertzis N. (1994) *'Nationalism as ideology.'* Conference Proceedings Etairia Spoudon Neoellinikou Politismou kai Genikis Paideias (in Greek)

Doxiadis K. (1996) *'Utopia and morality'* **Greek Political Science Review** Vol. 8 pp. 35-76 (in Greek)

Drossos D. (1998) *'Market, polity and political decision making.'* **Axiologika** 11-12 pp. 326-336 (in Greek)

Dummett A. and Nicol A. (1990) *'Subjects, citizens, aliens and others: nationality and immigration law.'* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson

Emke-Poulopoulou, I (1990) *'Migrants and Refugees in Greece in the Period between 1970-1990.'* **Eklogi**, April-Sept. pp. 6-112 (in Greek)

Fairchild H. P. (1925) *'Immigration: a world movement and its American significance.'* New York: Macmillan

Fakiolas R. (1987) *'Interest groups: an overview'* in Featherstone K. and Katsoudas D. K. (eds) (1987) *'Political change in Greece.'* London: Croom Helm

Fawcett J. T. (1989) *'Networks linkages and migration system.'* **International Migration Review Vol. 23** pp. 671-688

Frangoulis M. (1992) *'Foreign Migrant Workers in Greece.'* Interim Report, Greece.

Freeman G. P. (1986) *'Migration and the political economy of the welfare state.'* **Annals of the American Academy**, 485 p. 53

Fontaine L. (1995) *'Immigration and citizenship in Canada and Belgium: Is the Canadian model of citizenship useful in the EU?'* in Martiniello M. (ed) (1995) *'Migration citizenship and ethno-national identities in the EU.'* Aldershot: Avebury

Georgiadou V. (1996) *'Secular state and orthodox church.'* in Lyrantzis C., Nikolacopoulos H. and Sotiropoulos D. (eds) (1996) *'Proceedings of the 4th conference of the Greek society of political science.'* Athens: Themelio (in Greek)

Gianni M. (1997) *'Multiculturalism and political integration: The need*

for a differentiated citizenship.' in Wicker H. R. (ed) (1997) *'Rethinking nationalism and ethnicity.'* Oxford: Berg

Giddens A. (1987) *'Social Theory and Modern Sociology.'* Cambridge: Polity Press

Giorgi L., Pohoryles R., Poholyes-Drexel S. and Schmid G. (1992) *'The internal logic and contradictions of migration control: An excursion into theory and practice in relation to East-West migration.'* **Innovation** Vol. 5 No. 3 pp. 25-37

Government's Gazette of the Greek Democracy, Issue 1 No. 36,
19 March 1993, pp. 358-360

Glitsos N. (1995) *'Problems and policies regarding the socio-economic integration of returnees and foreign workers in Greece.'* **International Migration Quarterly Review** Vol. 23 No. 2 pp. 155-176

Gravaris D. (1993) *'Elements for a social policy theory.'* (in Greek) in Getimis P. and Gravaris D. (eds) (1993) *'Social state and social policy.'* Athens: Themelio

Gosh J. and Lindquist B. (1995) *'Conceptualising international labour migration: a structuration perspective.'* **International Migration Review** Vol. 29 (2) pp. 317-351

Gould W. T. S. (1994) *'Population Movements and the Changing World*

Order: An Introduction.' in Gould W. T. S. and Findlay A. M. (eds) (1994) *'Population Migration and the Changing World Order.'* Chichester: Wiley

Guillaumin C. (1995) *'Racism, sexism, power and ideology.'* London: Routledge

Habermas J. (1994) in Van Steenbergen B. (ed) (1994) *'The condition of citizenship'* London: Sage

Hall S., Critcher C., Jefferson T., Clarke J. and Roberts B. (1978) *'Policing the crisis; mugging, the state, and law and order.'* London: Macmillan, London

Hadjiyannis V. (1990) *'Democratisation and the Greek state.'* in Chilcote R. H. (ed) (1990) *'Transitions from dictatorship to democracy.'* New York: Taylor and Francis

Hammar T. and Tamas K. (1997) *'Why do people migrate?'* in Hammar T., Brochman G., Tamas K., and Faist T. (eds) (1997) *'International migration, immobility and development.'* Oxford: Berg

Harris N. (1995) *'The New Untouchables. Immigration and the new world worker.'* London: Tauris

Hinrich K. (1988) *'Time money and welfare state capitalism.'* in J. Keane (ed) (1988) *'Civil Society and the State.'* London: Verso

Hobsbawm E. J. (1992) *'Nations and nationalism since 1780.'* Cam-

bridge: Cambridge University Press

Holloway J. (1992) '*Crisis, fetishism, class composition.*' in Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1992) '*Theory and practice*' **Open Marxism Vol. 2** London: Pluto Press

Holloway J. (1994) '*Global Capital and Nation State.*' **Capital and Class** 52 pp. 23-49

Holloway J. (1995) '*From scream of refusal to scream of power: the centrality of work.*' in Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1995) '*Emancipating Marx.*' **Open Marxism Vol. 3** London: Pluto Press

Illich I. (1981) '*Shadow work.*' New Hampshire: Boyers

Joly, D. , Nettleton, C. and Poulton, H. (1992) '*Refugees, asylum in Europe?*' London: Minority Rights Publications.

Jordan B. (1989) '*The common good.*' Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Karydis B. X. (1996) '*Criminality of immigrants in Greece.*' Athens: Papazisis (in Greek)

Kassimati K. (1993) '*Pontian migrants from the former Soviet Union.*' Athens: Ministry of Culture and Panteion University (2nd Edition) (in Greek)
Katsoridas D. A. (1994) '*Immigrant workers in Greece*' (in Greek) Athens: Iamos

Kazakos P.V. and Ioakimides P. C. (eds) (1994) '*Greece and EC membership evaluated.*' London: Pinter

Kavougiaris E. (1974) in Nikolinakos M. (ed) '*Economic development and migration in Greece.*' Athens: Kalvos (in Greek)

Keane J. (ed) (1988) '*Civil society and the state; new European perspectives.*' London: Verso

Kearny M. (1986) '*From the invisible hand to visible feet: Anthropological Studies of Migration and Development.*' **Annual Review of Anthropology** Vol 15 pp. 331-361

Ketelsen J. V. (1992) '*Third country nationals and European Community jurisdiction.*' **Immigration and nationality law in practice** Vol. 6 No. 2. pp. 44-47

King M. (1992) '*The impact of EC border policies on the policing of refugees in the Eastern and Central Europe.*' **Innovation** Vol. 5 No. 3 pp. 7-21

Kitromelides P.M. (1994) in Kazakos P.V. and Ioakimides P. C. (eds) (1994) '*Greece and EC membership evaluated.*' London: Pinter

Kritz M. M., Kelly C.B. and Tomasi S. M. (eds) (1981) '*Global Trends in Migration.*' New York: Center of Migration Studies

Kritz M. M. and Zlotnik H. (1992) '*Global interactions: Migration sys-*

tems, processes and policies.' in Kritz M. M. , Lim L. L. and Zlotnik H. (eds) (1992) *'International Migration Systems. A global approach.'* Oxford: Clarendon Press

Kunz E. F. (1973) *'The refugee in flight: kinetic models and forms of displacement.'* International Migration Review Vol. VII (2) pp. 124-146 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) *'Theories of migration.'* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Landmann R. S. *'The problem of the undocumented worker.'* (unpublished)

Lash S. and Urry J. (1987) *'The end of organised capitalism.'* Cambridge: Polity

Lazos G. (1997) *'The foreign prostitute in modern Greece.'* in Dimitriou S. (ed) (1997) *'Forms of social exclusion and mechanisms for producing it.'* Athens: Ideokinisi (in Greek)

Layton-Henry Z. (1992) in Cornelius W. C., Martin P. L., Hollifield J. F. (eds) (1992) *Controlling immigration: a global perspective.* Stanford: Stanford University Press

Layton-Henry Z. (ed) (1990) *'The Political Rights of Migrant Workers in Western Europe.'* London: Sage

Layton-Henry Z. (1992) *'The politics of immigration: Immigration race*

and race relations in post war Britain.' Oxford: Blackwell

Lee E. S. (1966) '*A theory of migration*' *Demography* Vol. 3 (1) pp. 47-57 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Lively J. and Reeve A. (1996) '*Economic order, moral order and the state: the idea of the civil society.*' Conference Paper, Warwick University

Lekkas P. E. (1996) '*The Nationalist Ideology.*' Athens: Katarti (in Greek)

Lianos T. P. (1979) '*Greece*'. in Kubat D (ed) (1979) '*Politics of migration policies.*' New York: Center for Migration Studies (2nd edition)

Lunhmann N. (1982) '*The differentiation of society.*' New York: Columbia University Press

Lynardos-Rylmon P. (1993) '*Foreign workers and labour market in Greece.*' (in Greek) Athens: Trade Union Report

Mabogunje A. L. (1970) '*Systems approach to a theory of rural-urban migration.*' *Geographical Analysis* Vol. VII (1) pp. 1-18 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Macpherson C. B. (1985) '*The rise and fall of economic justice.*' Oxford: Oxford University Press

Markora E. and Sarris A. H. (1997) '*The performance of Bulgarian illegal*

immigrants in the Greek labour market.' (unpublished)

Marshall T. H. and Bottomore T. (1995) '*Citizenship and Social Class.*'
Athens: Gutenberg (in Greek)

Massey D. S., Arango J., Hugo G., Kouaouci A., Pellegrino A. and Taylor
J.E. (1993) '*Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal*'
Population and Development Review Vol. 19 (3) pp. 431-466

Massey D. S., Arango J., Hugo G., Kouaouci A., Pellegrino A. and Tay-
lor J.E (1994) '*An evaluation of international migration theory: the North
American case.*' **Population and Development Review** Vol. 20 (4)
pp. 699-751

Mayer K. B. (1975) '*Intra-European migration during the past 20 years*'
International Migration Review Vol. IX (4) pp. 441-447

Mc Lean- Petras E. and Koussis M. (1988) '*Returning migrant charac-
teristics and labour market demand in Greece.*' **International Migration
Review** Vol. XXII (4) pp. 586-608

Miles R. (1993) '*Racism after 'race relations'.*' London: Routledge

Miles R. and Satzewich V. (1990) '*Migration racism and 'postmodern'
capitalism.*' **Economy and Society** Vol. 19 (3) pp. 334-355

Miller D. (1988) '*The ethical significance of nationality.*' **Ethics** Vol.
98 pp. 647-662 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) '*Theories of migration.*'

Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Miller M. J. and Papademetriou D. G. (1983) '*The US and WE compared*' in Papademetriou D. G. and Miller M. J. (eds) (1983) '*An unavoidable issue: US immigration policy in the 1980s.*' Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues

Montaigne M. de (1897) '*The hour of parleying is dangerous.*' (Essay 1:6) (translated in English) London: Dent

Mouffe C. (1988) '*Hegemony and new political subjects: towards a new concept of democracy.*' in Nelson C. and Grossberg L. (eds) (1988) '*Marxism and interpretation of culture.*' Basingstoke: Macmillan

Moussourou L. M. (1991) '*Migration and migration policy in Greece and in Europe.*' (in Greek) Athens: Gutenberg (in Greek)

Mouzelis N. P. (1986) '*Politics in the semi-periphery: early parliamentarism and late industrialism.*' Basingstoke: Macmillan

Mouzelis N. P. (1994) '*Nationalism in the late industrial development.*' (in Greek) Athens: Themelio Miles R. and Satzewich V. (1990) '*Migration racism and 'postmodern' capitalism.*' **Economy and Society** Vol. 19 (3) pp. 334-355

Miller D. (1988) '*The ethical significance of nationality.*' **Ethics** Vol. 98 pp. 647-662 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) '*Theories of migration.*'

Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Miller M. J. and Papademetriou D. G. (1983) '*The US and WE compared*' in Papademetriou D. G. and Miller M. J. (eds) (1983) '*An unavoidable issue: US immigration policy in the 1980s.*' Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues

Montaigne M. de (1897) '*The hour of parleying is dangerous.*' (Essay 1:6) (translated in English) London: Dent

Mouffe C. (1988) '*Hegemony and new political subjects: towards a new concept of democracy.*' in Nelson C. and Grossberg L. (eds) (1988) '*Marxism and interpretation of culture.*' Basingstoke: Macmillan

Moussourou L. M. (1991) '*Migration and migration policy in Greece and in Europe.*' (in Greek) Athens: Gutenberg (in Greek)

Mouzelis N. P. (1986) '*Politics in the semi-periphery: early parliamentarism and late industrialism.*' Basingstoke: Macmillan

Mouzelis N. P. (1994) '*Nationalism in the late industrial development.*' Athens:Themelio (in Greek)

Negri T. (1996) '*The crisis of political space*' **Common Sense** 19 pp. 33-41

Nikolinakos M. (1973) '*Capitalism and migration*' Athens: Papazisi (in Greek)

Nikolinakos M. (1975) '*Notes towards a general theory of migration in late capitalism.*' *Race and Class* Vol. XVII (1) pp. 5-17

Nisbet R. (1994) '*History of the idea of progress.*' New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers

Ollman B. (1993) '*Dialectical Investigations.*' London: Routledge

Offe C. (1985) '*Disorganised capitalism: contemporary transformations of work and politics.*' Cambridge: Polity

Panagiotopoulou R. (1996) '*Rational individualist practices in the ir-rational political framework.*' in Lyrintzis C., Nikolacopoulos H. and Sotiropoulos D. (eds) (1996) '*Proceedings of the 4rth conference of the Greek society of polirical science.*' Athens: Themelio (in Greek)

Paraskevopoulou C. (1993) '*The socio-economic integration of Pontians in Greek society.*' Conference proceedings Dublin December 1993

Patterson S. (1965) '*Dark strangers : a study of West Indians in London.*' Harmondsworth : Penguin Books

Petersen W. (1958) '*General typology of Migration* *American Sociological Review* Vol. 23 (3) pp. 256-266 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Pieterse J. N. (1991) '*Fictions of Europe*' *Race and Class* 32 (3) pp. 3-10

Phizacklea A. (1998) *'Migration and globalisation: a feminist perspective.'* in Koser K. and Lutz H. (eds) (1998) *'New migration in Europe: social constructions and social realities.'* New Hampshire: Macmillan

Pollis A. (1977) *'The impact of traditional cultural patterns in Greek politics'* *The Greek Review of Social Research*. Vol. 29 pp. 2-14

Pollis A. (1987) *'The state, the law and human rights in modern Greece.'* *Human Rights Quarterly* pp. 587-614

Portes A. (1979) *'Illegal immigration and the international system: lessons from recent legal Mexican immigrants to the United States.'* *Social Problems* Vol. 26 (4) pp. 425-438

Portes A. and Kelly M. P. F. (1989) *'Images of movement in a changing world: a review of current theories of international migration'* *International Review of Comparative Public Policy* Vol. 1 pp. 15-33

Poulantzas N. (1975) *'Class in contemporary capitalism.'* London: NLB

Poulantzas N. (1978) *'State, power, socialism.'* London: NLB

Psimmenos I. (1995) *'Migration from the Balkans'* (Athens: Glorybook-Papazisis (in Greek)

Psychopedis K. (1997) *'Politics through concepts.'* Athens: Themelio (in Greek)

Psychopedis K. (1991) *'Dialectical theory: problems of reconstruction.'*

in Bonefeld W., Gunn R. and Psychopedis K. (eds) (1991) '*Dialectics and history.*' **Open Marxism Vol. 1** London: Pluto Press

Psychopedis, K. (1992) '*The normative Montaigne.*' **Logou Harin 3** pp. 33-48 (in Greek)

Ravenstein E. G. *The laws of migration* 1885 and 1889 in the **Journal of Royal Statistical Society** in Cherynilam F. *Migration*

Rawls J. (1973) '*A theory of Justice.*' London: Oxford University Press

Richmond A. H. (1993) '*Reactive migration: sociological perspective on refugee movements*' **Journal of Refugee Studies Vol. 6 (1)** pp. 7-24

Romaniszyn K. (1996) '*The invisible community: Undocumented Polish workers in Athens.*' **New Community Vol. 22 (2)** pp. 321-333

Runciman W.G. (1996) '*Relative Deprivation and social justice.*' London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Ryslad G. (1992) '*Immigration history and the future of international migration.*' **International Migration Review Vol. 26 (4)** pp. 1168-1199

Satzewich V. (1995) '*Racism and the incorporation of foreign labour.*' London: Routledge

Sagias I. and Spourdalakis M. (1993) '*Mass consumption.*' in Getimis P. and Gravaris D. N. (eds) (1993) '*Welfare state and social policy.*' Athens:

Themelio (in Greek)

Schmid G. (1992) '*The development of migration policies and their contradictions.*' *Innovation* Vol. 5 (2) pp. 41-50

Shrestha N. R. (1987) '*Institutional policies and migration behaviour: a selective review.*' *World Development* Vol. 15 (3) pp. 329-345

Sitaropoulos N. (1992) '*The new legal framework of alien immigration in Greece: a Draconeian contribution to Europe's unification.*' *Tolley's Immigration and Nationality Law and Practice* Vol. 6 (3) pp. 86-96

Sitaropoulos N. (1994) '*Greek immigration and refugee law - an update.*' *Immigration and Nationality Law and Practice* Vol. 8 (2) pp. 57-60

Schmitter-Heisler D. (1992) '*The future of immigrant incorporation: Which Models? Which Concepts?*' *International Migration Review* Vol. 26 (2) pp. 623-664

Schutte J.J.E. (1991) '*Schengen: its meaning for the free movement of person in Europe.*' *Common Market Law Review* Vol. 28 pp. 549-570

Smith D. M. and Black M. (1995) '*Some comparative aspects of ethnicity and citizenship in the European Union.*' in Martiniello M. (ed) (1995) '*Migration, citizenship and ethno-national identities in the EU.*' Aldershot: Avebury

Stalker P. (1994) '*The work of strangers : a survey of international*

labour migration.' Geneva : International Labour Office

Solomos J. (1988) '*Varieties of Marxist conceptions of 'race', class, and the state: a critical analysis.*' in Rex J. and Mason D. (eds) (1988) '*Theories of race and ethnic relations.*' Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Thränhardt D. and Miles R. (1995) '*Migration and European integration.*' London: Pinter

Tsoukalas K. (1991) '*Reflections of culture.*' Athens: Themelio (in Greek)

Tsoukalas K. (1993) '*Free riders in wonderland.*' **Greek Political Science Review** Vol. 1 pp. 5-39 (in Greek)

Tsoukalas K. (1993) '*Greek national identity in an integrated Europe and a changing world order.*' in Psomiades H. J. (ed) (1993) '*Greece, the new Europe and the changing international order.*' New York : Pella

Tsoukalas K. and Panagiotopoulou R. (1994) in Kazakos P.V. and Ioakimides P.C. (eds) (1994) '*Greece and EC membership evaluated.*' London: Pinter

Turner B. S. (1986) '*Citizenship and capitalism: the debate over reformism.*' London: Allen and Unwin

Twine F. (1994) '*Citizenship and Social rights.*' Sage: London

UNHCR (1995) '*Asylum in Europe*' No. 101 Refugees III

Van Steenberg B. (ed) (1994) '*The condition of citizenship*' London:

Sage

Ventoura L. (1995) '*Migration and Nation.*' Athens: Themelio (in Greek)

Vergopoulos K. (1986) '*Economic crisis and modernisation.*' **Temps moderns** Vol. 473 Athens: Eksantas (in Greek)

Vergopoulos K. (1993) '*Greece in the new European order: internationalisation and deconstruction.*' in Psomiades H. J. (ed) (1993) '*Greece, the new Europe and the changing international order.*' New York : Pella

Young I. M. (1989) '*Polity and Group Difference.*' **Ethics** Vol. 99 pp. 250-274

Weiner M. (1985) '*On international migration and international relations.*' **Population and Development Review** Vol. 11 (3) pp. 441-455
reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham:
Edward Elgar

Weiner M. (1995) '*The global migration crisis: challenge to states and to human rights.*' New York: Harper and Collins

Widgren J. (1990) '*International migration and regional stability*' **International Affairs** Vol. 66 (4) pp. 749-766 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Wood C. H. (1982) '*Equilibrium and historical-structural perspectives on migration.*' **International Migration Review** Vol. 16 (2) pp. 298-319.

Zolberg A. R. (1981) '*International migration in political perspective.*' in Krititz M. M., Kelly C.B. and Tomasi S. M. (eds) (1981) '*Global Trends in Migration.*' New York: Center of Migration Studies

Zolberg A. R. (1989) '*The next waves: migration theory for a changing world.*' *International Migration Review* Vol. XXIII (3) pp. 403-430 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Zolberg A. R., Suhrke A. and Aguayo S. (1986) '*International factors in the formation of refugee movements.*' *International Migration Review* Vol. XX (2) pp. 151-169 reprinted in Cohen R. (ed) (1996) '*Theories of migration.*' Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Zolberg, A. R., Suhrke A. and Aguayo S. (1989) '*Escape from violence: conflict and the refugee crisis in the developing world.*' New York: Oxford University Press

Zolberg A. R. (1992) '*Labour Migration and International Economic Regimes: Bretton Woods and after.*' in Krititz M. M. (ed) (1992) (new edition) '*Global Trends in Migration: theory and research on international population.*' New York: Center for Migration Studies